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CHRISTIANITY IN THE MODERN WORLD.—II.

CHRIST came into the world not primarily to *teach* something, nor even, only, to *be* something, but to *do* something :—this, as was pointed out in our last study,* is the old-new message of Prof. Cairns's book. It is an old idea, in so far as it is the idea of current orthodoxy ; really it is a much older idea, because the 'something' which Jesus came to do is conceived—not as that orthodoxy conceives it but much more nearly in the terms of primitive Jewish Christianity—as the founding upon earth of the Kingdom of God ; even in that form it would be a commonplace idea, were it put forward in the interests of a depreciatory estimate of Jesus as a Jew who failed to transcend Jewish ideals : but as coming from a thoroughly modern believer in Jesus as uniquely or supernaturally the Son of God and Saviour of the world, the idea is neither old nor commonplace. To the present writer it comes as a refreshing counterpoise to the contemporary resurrection of the hoary doctrine of 'Divine Immanence' in Mr. Campbell's so-called 'New Theology' and elsewhere, and in this article I desire to lay stress upon this idea and what seem to be its implications, even at the risk of suggesting inferences which the author himself might possibly disavow.

To put it boldly, the idea is nothing less than this, that Jesus' own proclamation, in Jewish terms, that His mission was to found upon earth the Kingdom of God, is after all the most adequate that can be devised. Average Christian opinion, in accepting the formula, would slur over the words, 'upon earth.' It is the distinction of Prof. Cairns's book to emphasize these words. The difference is a vital one: for it is the difference

* In the July issue of this Magazine.

between conceiving Christ's work as the saving of individual souls from a posthumous doom and winning for them posthumous felicity and conceiving it as primarily the regeneration and reconstruction of organized human life—in a word, of society. Prof. Cairns's idea is Seeley's idea with a difference; the idea that Christ's work was the establishment of a new Society destined to embrace the world, with the difference that the spring of the Society's life is its consciousness that in Jesus God for man's sake became man and at supreme cost undertook a human task under human conditions.

Obviously such an idea involves very important consequences, some of which were hinted at in the previous article. In the following pages it is with its implications for our general view of life that we are concerned. It hardly needs to be pointed out that if the idea in question is not to involve a lowered estimate of the work of Christ, this can only be on condition that we form a much higher estimate than has been customary of the significance of this present world. Christian theology has read into Christ's life and death a metaphysical import which has converted them into facts of eternity rather than of time. If we are now to find the primary purpose of that life and death in the establishment upon earth of the Kingdom of God, and yet are to do this without lowering our estimate of that life and death, it is necessary that we throw overboard our sharp distinctions between this world and the next, between time and eternity, and regard the 'here' as somehow continuous with, and not a mere preface to, the 'hereafter'. The present world must cease to be looked upon as merely a place of probation and must appear as somehow itself the scene of God's final achievement.

Such a view may appear strange, and to much current thought unwelcome; yet it should be admitted that it has, at least, certain *prima facie* recommendations. In the first place, why should we be so wedded to regarding this world as merely a place of probation? If it was meant entirely for this end, it certainly seems very badly contrived for the purpose. So much is this the case that Roman Catholicism has had to supplement this world with a 'Purgatory', and Protestants of 'the wider hope' have followed suit to the extent of venturing hypotheses of a chance of repentance after death. How many die before their characters are definitely formed! Is the probation in these cases really accomplished? We may go further and ask whether character is

ever so fixed as to make it hopeless for an extension of life and its experiences to effect a transformation. In face of such enigmas, piety is wont to reflect that what is impossible for man is possible to God. Character, it is surmised, may be in fact only half developed, and yet it may be possible for God to know whether it is cast for good or for evil. But such an answer to the difficulty really cuts at the root of the very idea of probation. If, in spite of human freedom, God can foresee the development of human characters, what is the need for a place of probation at all?

In the second place, the view that this earth is somehow the scene of God's victory, that is, of the consummation of the Divine purpose towards mankind, would be, in some respects, a distinct help to Christian theology, and especially to the theology of the Christian missionary in India. What commoner objection to Christianity is there than that Christ's death, as a particular event taking place at a particular point in time, cannot possibly be a thing of eternal moment to the whole of mankind? Now, if we persist in regarding Christ's death as a thing of purely metaphysical significance which, so far as its value is concerned, might have happened equally well at any time, there is really no satisfactory answer to this objection. It can be adequately met only by the bold step of developing our metaphysics in terms of time. We must dare to regard time as real and not as appearance. We must assert that God fulfils Himself in and through time. We must affirm that a perfected consummation of the world-process constitutes the supreme good not only for those who are upon the earth when it comes to pass but for all men who ever lived, and that He who lived, and died, and lived again to effect this consummation, thereby conferred the supremest boon upon the whole human race. If Jesus lived and died in time, His work must belong to the texture of time. If it is nevertheless of eternal moment, then must time be of eternal moment.

In the third place, the view under consideration frees Christianity from the suspicion of being a selfish Gospel, absorbing the individual in the salvation of his own soul, and makes it a summons to, and a prophecy of, the social and spiritual emancipation of the race. It is reflection on the exaggerated individualism of recent orthodoxy that has been the avenue by which Prof. Cairns himself has been led to his conclusions. Christianity, as he now conceives it, is a power for the reconstruction of civilisation. It

is a social as well as a spiritual message, appealing to the reformer and to the statesman as much as to the saint. Here again the Indian missionary stands to gain by adopting our author's point of view. The real obstacle to the acceptance of Christianity in India is not so much metaphysical difficulties, as the fact that the spiritual problems to which Christianity offers a solution are hardly felt by the average Hindu. His hereditary temper is mystical and quietistic. Christianity in its native strength is a religion of a world-agony and a Divine triumph at an infinite cost. It has proved itself able to satisfy the mystic also, but so has Hinduism. Where Christianity shows itself unique, is in its Gospel for those who groan in the fight against sin within and without. But India is at last being roused to the practical. The problems of nationality and the problems of social wrong are beginning to be felt, and if Christianity were always presented to India with a full consciousness of its tremendous social and national significance, the day of its victory would come more speedily.

In the fourth place, the view in question brings us into line with the preaching of Jesus Himself, as regards both His own mission and His 'Second Coming.' If we understand by the 'Kingdom of God' merely the arithmetical sum of the individuals who will ever believe in Jesus, the phrase loses all meaning and appropriateness. On the other hand, if we understand by it only a future community in heaven, what are we to make of Jesus' message that the Kingdom of God was at hand? Further, if we look upon this world as simply a place of probation, then Christ's Parousia or Second Coming can only be for judgment. But that does not seem to exhaust His own or the apostolic conception of it. As Prof. Cairns says, "The whole Idea of the Second Coming has been much obscured by regarding it as primarily a coming to Judgment. The Judgment of Humanity ('all nations') by Christ is plainly an element in the Idea. But the primary Idea is the victory of the Kingdom of God, its coming in glory and in power. In this victory Judgment is necessarily involved." By Christ's own teaching, then, we are forced to regard this world as the scene of His coming constructive achievement. The secret purpose of the ages does not lie wholly hidden in an inconceivable realm, to which this life is merely probationary, but primarily it shines in this earth's own future. There God is to win His long designed victory. The Kingdom of God is to be with men and the nations of the world are to bring their honour and

glory into it. But does not such a conception plunge us into impossible difficulties? If we attempt to regard this earth as the scene of the consummation of all things, are we not straightway forced to transfigure that perfected earth with anticipated glories and perfections of bliss which will make it merge into heaven? It may be so, and for this difficulty we may have to seek a solution. Yet, in involving ourselves in this difficulty, we shall only be coming into line once again with the preaching of Jesus. "The picture which we have of the Parousia," writes Prof. Cairns, "seems sometimes to waver between heaven and earth. On the one hand, Jesus 'comes' to the earth. That is a word that could not possibly have been used by Him unless He had thought of the victory of His Kingdom in Time. On the other hand, He speaks of the 'Children of the Resurrection' as being loosed from the physical conditions of this life in terms which show that the resurrection life of His followers must be very different from the life of Time even at its best."

The chapter in which Prof. Cairns discusses Christ's teaching with regard to the future is the most original in the volume. It is a fresh bit of thinking of exceeding suggestiveness. The chapter begins with a prefatory section upon the diversity of view prevailing in regard to the apocalyptic element in the utterances of Christ. Those who look upon Him as only a profound moral teacher naturally slur over, or even question the authenticity of, His reported claim to be the Jewish Messiah and His long and obscure discourse about His 'Second Coming' and the end of the world. They have room for nothing in their thought of Him that goes beyond the 'Sermon on the Mount.' And even among those for whom Christ is much more than a moral teacher there are many who systematically neglect these elements of His message. They find them mysterious and unedifying. In reaction against such one-sidedness there are scholars who lay an exaggerated stress upon the apocalyptic features in Jesus' thought. For them He is just a Jewish visionary of an exceptionally elevated type, "a religious genius wrought to so high a pitch of enthusiasm that for Him the real almost vanishes before the Ideal, one so 'God-intoxicated' that a great crisis of Divine Judgment and Deliverance seems to Him just at hand." It is an obvious suggestion that each of these extreme views about Jesus must be regarded as furnishing the necessary correction of the other, but by an unexpected turn of the argument Prof. Cairns brings this suggestion

into alliance with the main thesis of his volume, the assertion of the social character of Christ's Gospel.

Christianity, he points out, has been judged by two such different but penetrating critics as J. S. Mill and Mazzini to be defective on the social side of morals. "What little recognition," wrote Mill, "the idea of obligation to the public obtains in modern morality is derived from Greek or Roman sources, not from Christian; so even in the morality of private life, whatever exists of magnanimity, high-mindedness, personal dignity, even the sense of honour, is derived from the purely human, not from the religious side of our education, and never could have grown out of a standard of ethics in which the only worth professedly recognised is that of obedience." This being so, he continues, "I think it a great error to persist in attempting to find in the Christian doctrine that complete rule for our guidance which its author intended it to sanction and enforce, but only partially to provide." To a similar effect Mazzini wrote:—"Jesus stood and stands alone, supreme over all other great religious reformers in everything that concerns the heart and the affections. But His intellectual grasp did not extend beyond the requirements of a single epoch. The great want of the epoch of which He was the initiator was the affirmation of human individuality, of the inviolability of conscience, the equality of all human souls, and of the possibility that each and all men should achieve their redemption and ascend to God. . . . . . Starting from a conception of human life founded upon human individuality only, it was impossible that He should reach the idea of God, the supreme Educator of humanity; of progress, by His decree the law of human life; of association, the slow but infallible method of that law's fulfilment; and of the harmony resulting from such fulfilment, between the terrestrial and the future life of humanity."

If the judgment, pronounced thus in common by two such diverse minds, were true, Christianity could have no sufficient message for the problems of modern life. And Prof. Cairns admits that the judgment is, at least, a colourable contention, so long as it is assumed that the 'Sermon on the Mount' is a complete summary of Christ's moral message. But this assumption is nothing more than the result of the ignoring of the apocalyptic element in the utterances of Jesus. Jesus *had* a social message, a summons to mankind to follow Him into a new community of spiritual

and social service culminating in a reconstructed humanity, the message that He was the Messiah come to establish the Kingdom of God. Jesus had this message to deliver, but the effective delivery of it was a problem of intense practical difficulty. The atmosphere was electric with Messianic expectations of the crudest sort. At the least claim on His part to leadership in matters of social or political reform, Palestine would have risen in a crude rebellion against Rome which would have shattered the possibility of the spiritually founded revolution He contemplated. "The practical problem before Him, then, was first, to retain His immediate following; second, to prevent the insurgent Messianic enthusiasm awakened by His words and deeds from breaking forth into what the Romans might consider dangerous sedition; and finally, to transmute and spiritualise the current Messianic hope, and thereby to reveal to the people and to the twelve the true nature of the new spiritual commonwealth which was already in their midst." In a 'life of Christ' condensed into three pregnant, illuminating pages, Prof. Cairns traces the policy Jesus pursued and shows how He snatched victory out of the jaws of defeat. It is in the ever pressing danger, he concludes, of a premature forcing of the crisis that "we have the true explanation of His silence as to the political, national and civic duties of men; in this, along with the fact that until the Jewish or some other nation had accepted the Kingdom of God, the true ethics of Christian patriotism could not be explicitly formulated. For, in the context of the national thought and feeling, Jesus could not deal with such matters without declaring Himself on the burning questions of the Messianic ideals in a way that would have been fatal to the accomplishment of His mission." Nevertheless, His social message did not remain wholly undelivered. It lay implicit in His great ideas of the Fatherhood of God, His own Mediatorial work, and the Kingdom of God, as also in the moral teaching recorded in the Gospels; and what lay implicit there found explicit utterance in a medium which was safe from political perversion, the language of poetry and symbol, the language of apocalypse.

What, then, was the nature of the message which Jesus shadowed forth in figurative symbolism like that of which Jewish Apocalyptic literature had already made such large use? As Prof. Cairns points out, if it is granted that Jesus claimed to be the Messianic Inaugurator of the long anticipated Kingdom of God, then the main features of His apocalyptic message follow as logical consequences.

He, the Messiah, who had made Himself the central personality of the Kingdom, was about to be taken from earth by a shameful death. Unless the disciples' new spiritual life was to be reduced to absolute chaos, He must be prepared to assure them that He was only going to "a new vantage ground" making it possible for Him "to exert a far more powerful influence upon them and upon the world than when He was with them in the flesh." Accordingly we find the promise that He will 'come again', which is primarily "a symbolical way of saying that His physical departure in no way implies His real departure." The case is similar with regard to Jesus' teaching concerning the Kingdom of God. It demands the Parousia prophecy as its logical completion. The Kingdom, in spite of the fact that men are commanded to labour and fight for it, is invariably represented as "the gift and act of God." Yet, at the time of Jesus' departure it was little more than the shadow of a name. "Therefore, in the Kingdom's darkest hour, it was necessary that the Founder should renew in the most solemn way His assurance that the hour was advancing when the Kingdom should come in glory and in power, and manifest its true character in the great spheres of cosmical life, as it had already done under more straightened and lowly conditions," and that is the real burden of the Parousia discourse.

Of course we are not to imagine that these assurances were elicited from Jesus by any mere logical necessity of rounding off His pretensions. Rather was it the case that He was burning with a summons to mankind to enter upon a new spiritual life pregnant with revolutionary significance for all the relationships of life, social and political as well as moral and religious. But upon these wider bearings of the new spiritual principle He could not disburden His soul without destroying His incipient achievement. In such a pass it was only natural that the suppressed enthusiasm of His convictions about the world-transformation which He was to effect should find vent in what is always the congenial medium of feeling, the language of poetic vision and symbol. His utterances about the future, therefore, are to be regarded as prophecy rather than prediction; they are the imaginative application of principles rather than the literal announcement of future events. Moreover, in interpreting them, another fact has to be borne in mind. His symbolical utterances were made to disciples who were even yet only too predisposed to misunderstand them. They had always expected the Messianic King-

dom to be introduced in a sudden, dramatic manner, and in spite of the parable of 'The Mustard Seed' they still supposed that the *dénouement* was only delayed. In these circumstances our surprise should be not that in their recollection the prophetic forecasts of Jesus received modifications and accretions which make it impossible for us perfectly to unravel their meaning but that anything at all of their original purport should still be discernible.

Aside from minor obscurities the chief difficulty in Jesus' utterances is that the future He pictures seems to be represented sometimes as imminent, sometimes as remote. According to the view which Prof. Cairns accepts, what Jesus was really figuring forth under the image of a 'Second Coming' was rather a process than an event,—the spiritual process of the Christianising of the world and of its civilisation. When His thought was centred on the culmination of the process, He naturally represented the 'Second Coming' as distant. On the other hand, whenever He was thinking of the process as a whole, He naturally represented the 'Second Coming' as imminent. For, immediately upon His death and resurrection there was to begin that process of the interpenetration of the world by the spiritual influence of Christ, which, because it was a spiritual interpenetration, no statecraft of evil men could withstand. "Whether the Second Coming," writes Professor Cairns, "implies a return of the Incarnate Jesus, a literal physical re-appearance on the field of History, is a question altogether secondary. That the phrase, 'ye shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of Heaven,' does not necessarily imply this is clear from His saying to the High Priest.* 'Henceforth (from this time onward) ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of God and coming in the clouds of Heaven,' where the language † is obviously symbolical, and implies simply that He is God's Vicegerent, and ever and again 'comes' in special manifestations of the Divine Power. But while this is so, the whole drift of the Apocalyptic teaching of Jesus appears to me to imply further that this process reaches at last a culmination and term. The imagery seems to imply something more than an asymptotical progress of the Kingdom in the world, a pursuit of an ever receding goal; it indicates a victory of the Kingdom and its King. The separate 'comings' of Christ in His providence are thus to

* Cf. Matt. xxvi, 64. (*Revised Version*)

† It is borrowed from the Book of Daniel; cf. Dan. vii, 13.

be viewed as 'moments' or 'stadia' in the realization of a Divine purpose in which they all at last reach their consummation. This consummation is the true and perfect coming of the Lord."

This interpretation of Jesus' apocalyptic teaching is, of course, in no sense novel. It is the use which Professor Cairns makes of the apocalyptic element in the New Testament to prove the essentially social character of the Christian Gospel that is so fresh: this, together with his readiness to accept as true and sound the presentation of the Kingdom of God as a historical category instead of regarding such a presentation as a mere accommodation to Jewish ideas. Lighted up by his imaginative insight and sympathy the terrestrial 'Kingdom of God' gleams again before the eye of man as an ideal so entrancing that to found the Kingdom seems not too mean an end for even an Incarnation of God, and to serve it appears the only glory that human soul can crave. In the light of that vision our theology and our religious yearnings come to be of one web with the tissue of earthly history. That is a great result. It brings into our common world of secular endeavour all the solemnity and promise of the infinite. It is the terrestrial grown heavenly, the earthly transfigured with a light that never was on sea or land. Yet is it not, alas! too certain that upon the sea and land of man's acquaintance that light can never linger? If the vision remains terrestrial *only*, its glow soon fades and passes. The terrestrial cannot remain transfigured for the imagination, unless it become transmuted for the intellect. No ideal can satisfy the social spirit of Christianity save as it includes the perfecting of society; and yet a perfected society needs a perfected environment. The kingdom *of the world* must become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ; yet, if it became so, forthwith, out of the very goodness of this good, must spring fierce longing for its transformation into a 'life that knows no ending,' a world where 'they shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light upon them nor any heat: for the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters: and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.' That is the dilemma into which we are plunged. In order that it may be our moral and social end, the 'Kingdom of God' must needs be terrestrial; but in order completely to satisfy, it must needs be a Kingdom of Heaven.

This dilemma is not one of modern origin; it is a dilemma in

the teaching of Christ. As already remarked, His symbolism of the future wavers between earth and heaven; and in so wavering, it perplexes interpreters. Prof. Cairns's reading of the puzzle is that the wavering is but part of the truth of the picture, for it has to set forth a fact with two faces. Although the Parousia as world-process is truly consummated only in the Parousia as world-climax, that climax is at the same time a new beginning. Viewed as climax, the victory of the Kingdom of God "is at once the perfection of the earthly form of the Kingdom, and, by that very fact, the point of transition to the new and heavenly realm. Humanity in the earthly victory of the Kingdom will have reached all that was possible under the conditions of space and of time,* and then will be led into the grander sphere of the heavenly world. What that greater life of the Kingdom will be like we cannot fully tell. 'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things that God hath prepared for them that love Him.' But it is none the less true that 'God hath revealed them unto us by His Spirit.' That is in effect to say, that we can be sure of this at least, that there will be spiritual continuity between the earthly life of the Kingdom and the heavenly; that the Kingdom on this side the bourne and the Kingdom on that, are in principle the same Kingdom, and that the best way to serve the further vaster Order is to labour for the full realization of the City of God on earth. As in ancient history the men who best served the City of the Violet Crown and the City of the Seven Hills were serving also, though they knew it not, the great World Commonwealth of our own day, so those who labour for the perfect human society will find their service of Christ therein taken up into the vast movement of the Purpose of God and realized in the Eternal City."

This appears to be the only, and the necessary, solution of the dilemma, but for its effectiveness it seems to require a further development which lies, at least, outside the plan of Prof. Cairns's book. For if, with him, we abandon the idea that this world is primarily a place of probation, the difficulties of that view are replaced by others of a new sort. Some of the difficulties of the probationary view have been already indicated, and the most important among them is the difficulty that if the main pur-

* Does Prof. Cairns mean more by this than 'under the conditions known to us'? His whole standpoint seems to require belief in the metaphysical reality of time.

pose of one's present life is the preparation of oneself for a higher, social service becomes chiefly a means whereby one may obtain one's own eternal welfare. Nevertheless, that view has this advantage, that good conduct in the probationary stage leads straight to its reward. Every one who believes in it and acts accordingly, must unhesitatingly "desire to depart and be with Christ," for to him it must unquestionably seem "very far better"; it has been the goal of all his striving. On the other hand, if we accept the idea that Christianity is essentially social, that the supreme Christian longing should be for the achievement upon earth of the Kingdom of God, and that individual probation is only an incidental consequence of the effort for this higher end, then the position is different. In that case also no one can be in any doubt whether to long for life or for death, but the choice will be reserved; for to "abide in the flesh" will mean "fruit of labour,"—further achievement for the Kingdom's sake, while to "depart" would mean to leave the Lord's battle. Prof. Cairns's suggestion that the climax of the terrestrial Kingdom is the beginning of the heavenly only guarantees the permanent value of the final social achievement; by itself it can afford no personal consolation to those who drop out of the earthly battle-line ere the victory is won.

Before directly considering this point it is well to remark that, at least if the Apostle Paul is a worthy model, neither of the attitudes just described is truly Christian. It is not Christian to count death an unmitigated disappointment: but neither is it Christian to welcome death as an unalloyed relief. The true Christian attitude is an equanimity of indecision between the alternatives of life and death, well-satisfied to leave the determination to the Lord. "To depart and be with Christ," wrote Paul to the Phillippians, is "very far better"; "but if life in the flesh,—if this means for me fruit of labour, then what I shall choose, I wot not."

To Paul himself this equanimity of indecision did not come immediately, and the progress of his thought on this subject ceases to have a merely biographical or antiquarian interest, so soon as we ourselves revert to the original Christian attitude and honestly regard the Kingdom of God as a fact of this world. For then, to labour for that heaven upon earth becomes our dearest joy, and to fall prematurely in its cause becomes our sweetest sorrow. How to console just this very sorrow at dying before the Lord came, was

one of the earliest problems Paul had to face. At first he met the problem by telling his converts of his conviction that Christ would not be willing for those who had fallen asleep in Him to be absent from His triumph. If Jesus Himself rose from the dead, not disembodied but with a new spiritual body, so long before the final resurrection day, there was no intrinsic improbability, he argued, that a similar early resurrection should be accorded to His departed followers. "If we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also that are fallen asleep in Jesus will God bring with Him," that is, with Jesus (1 Thess. iv, 14). Not only so, but these blessed dead will have the preference over the living. "The Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a shout," and "the dead in Christ shall rise first." Then those that have not died shall be changed "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye," and all together, both the resurrected and the 'changed,' will partake in the glorious reign of Christ. Such was the Apostle's first way of meeting and conquering the Christian's noble reluctance to die. Christ's reappearance in victory was thought to be so near at hand—a matter of a few decades at the most—that it seemed to him no hopeless sorrow to be snatched away from the first stages of the Lord's battle to a disembodied repose in Paradise. Those that slept would come again to share in the great crisis of victory. To the Christian to live was Christ; to die was, perhaps, not gain, but it was not uncompensated loss.

It was not for very long, however, that the Apostle was able to rest in this first solution of the problem. The Lord delayed His coming, and it became evident that He would still further delay it. Paul ceased first to be confident, and then even to hope, that he himself would live to see that day. Such a change in his anticipations must have awakened many reflections and, among other things, we find that, even so early as the second epistle to the Corinthians, he had reached a new conception of the Christian's death. It is no longer the beginning of a disembodied repose of passive, though happy, waiting. It is not an 'unclothing' but an immediate 'clothing upon' with the incorruptible resurrection-body. "For we know," writes Paul in this epistle, "that if the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens." (2 Cor. v., 1.). So death becomes for the Apostle no longer an interruption, however brief, of fellowship with the active life of the Master in His battle for the Kingdom,—no merely disem-

bodied, and therefore passive, enjoyment of Divine love, however sweet. No, it means a step forward in the fellowship of that Master, Who by passing through death entered upon a life of new spiritual power exercised for the victory of His Kingdom in the world. For Paul, therefore, to die is now gain. At the same time, 'to live is Christ'; and if that means 'fruit of labour' among those whom he has learned to love, he would gladly linger awhile to gather this precious fruit. He stands in a 'strait betwixt two'—betwixt service of the Master in a way long known and loved, and a step into a higher experience which will bring, he believes, richer service. In such an equanimity of indecision who would not be glad that the choice lies with the Lord?

Such, apparently, was the way in which Paul transcended the noble reluctance to die which is the natural consequence of regarding the Kingdom of God as a fact of this world. And it is important to note that he transcends it by breaking down the hard and fast separation between this life and the next, and bringing life, death and resurrection-life into a concrete unity. For Paul's thought, it is commonly admitted, Christ's life, death and resurrection were vitally inter-connected. Any element without the others would, to his mind, have been useless for the world's redemption. It was the perfection of Christ's earthly life that made possible the perfect saving power of His resurrection-life, and the former had to reach the crisis of death before the latter could be born. Now, Paul came to extend this view of life, death and resurrection as one unity, from Christ Himself to them that are His. All our life, Paul teaches, is a sowing, a sowing to the Spirit or a sowing to the flesh. Of the latter sowing men reap death, of the former, resurrection-life. But this sowing cannot yield its fruit without death. In that respect our life on earth is like the farmer's seed. It must pass through death ere it can be consummated. And the seed, Paul finally comes to teach, shoots forth its ear not in a far-off, future day but whenever it has died its death. Moreover, according to Paul, the activity of Christ's own resurrection-life is an activity directed upon His Kingdom on earth. If, then, we believe ourselves to go, upon death, into a deeper fellowship with Him, it is incredible but that we, too, shall somehow be active in the same cause. This life and the immediate 'hereafter' thus become a unity of interest; they are the same activity upon different levels.

Are not these elements in the Apostle's thought capable of suggesting a speculation of moving power,—a grand evolution of the Kingdom of God, at once terrestrial and wider than the terrestrial? When the present life is regarded as probation only, then to assimilate the individual's immediate 'hereafter' to the present life, as is done in some degree by every doctrine of purgatory, however disguised, is chiefly mischievous, for it robs the present life of half its meaning. But the case is very different,—it seems, indeed, precisely reversed,—when the present is regarded not as probation but as sowing, death not as mere transition but as a crisis of growth, and the immediate 'hereafter' not as inactive waiting, nor yet as a mere renewal of lost opportunities, but as a reaping of the old life in a new power of activity towards the same end. That gives this life with its battle for the Kingdom a wider horizon; it becomes part of a more august battlefield. Each soldier of the Cross who falls out of the earthly battle-line goes, like His Master, into some higher embodiment (or 'incarnation') in some other 'mansion' of our Father's house, there to reap the fruition (or 'consume the *karma*') of what, by grace, his life on earth has been, in new powers and opportunities for the service of the great Kingdom of God. Then, when on earth that Kingdom shall have won its final victory and this world shall be ready to pass by its 'death', or crisis of growth, into a reaping of the labour and patience of the ages, there will dawn, alike for it and for those in other 'mansions,' some grand new beginning, hid in the great Purpose of God.

It is a speculation only. Yet it is a speculation which, so far from diminishing our responsibility for present opportunities, increases its solemnity. Moreover, some such speculation seems to be called for, if we, with our modern ideas, dare to go back to the primitive Christian Gospel of the Kingdom of God as a terrestrial reality, and draw from it the social inspiration which no other Gospel can give. Finally, such a speculation can help us to attain an attitude to death like the grand equanimity of indecision of the great Apostle Paul. We shall be in a strait betwixt two. On the one hand, we shall prefer to live. To depart would be, indeed, to rise to a new kind of life through the gateway of an experience which our Master has known, but we have not yet. To die, therefore, would mean reaping and fruition. Nevertheless, to live would be Christ, and this means that it would be the power to sow seed of a higher, purer kind than we have yet done, and so

eventually to reap a higher harvest. Accordingly, we shall prefer to live ; but yet, if our Master calls us for the Kingdom's sake to die, we shall enter with joy into His experience. On the other hand, there is a point of view from which our preference will be reversed, although still held with the same willingness to change. To live means work for others, toil in the Lord's battle. To live, therefore, is joy. Yet, to die is to pass into the wider activity of our resurrected Master Himself ; to die is not to lose our acquired capacities of helpfulness but to reap their full fruition. To die, therefore, is gain and this we choose ; yet if, for the Kingdom's sake, our Master bids it, we shall continue with gladness to labour here. To us to live will be Christ and gain, and to die will be gain and Christ ; and which to prefer we shall not know.

A. G. HOGG.

THE NAYADIS OF COCHIN.

THE author of *Jathinirnayam*, a Malayalam work which deals with the description of castes in Malabar, says that the Parayas, Pulayas, Nayadis and Ullatans form the Chandalas of the plains (Nattu Nichanmar), their social position being determined by the order in which they are mentioned. From this it would appear that the Nayadis are superior in status to the Ullatans, who however deny it. Nayadis are found in almost all parts of the state. They are, as the name implies, skilful hunters.

They speak Malayalam, but so badly mispronounce words that those not familiar with them, cannot easily comprehend their speech. The following is a list of a few words used by them with their peculiar meanings :—

Words used by them.	Literal meaning, or pronunciation.	Meanings.
Chembu kásu ..	Copper coins ..	Money.
Elamattam ..	Exchange of leaves ..	Food.
Nakkán Illa ..	Nothing to lick on ..	Having no food.
Erathiam ..	....	Dishonour.
Thavatharikkuka ..	Samsarikkuka ..	To speak.
Ennuka ..	To number ..	To go for alms.
Thanthizhikka ..	Santhoshikka ..	To be pleased.
Othirikka ..	Upadrivikka ..	To injure.

The male members are called "Nayadis" and the grown-up members "Muthadiyar." The boys are known as "Mulayans." The women are the "Nayadichis" and the girls "Mulachis."

Typical names of males.	*Typical names of females.*
Chankaran for Sankaran.	Kali.
Karappan.	Neeli.
Ayyappan.	Kurmba.
Chakkan	Mundi.
Nilandan or Nilakandhan.	

The caste has no sub-divisions. Marriage is endogamous. Among relations they prefer to marry their uncle's daughter. They marry either among themselves in the same village or in the one close by. These poor people have no social status. There are no differences of religious belief or practice. Their occupations are also uniform. There are no considerations whatever on the question of inter-marriage.

Their habits are settled. In the hilly parts or jungly tracts a few of these families are seen living in the land of some landlords, whose crops they watch at night against the attacks of wild beasts. They are found in the rural and jungly tracts of South Malabar and Cochin.

Marriage is generally performed after, but sometimes also before, puberty, and is never determined by courtship. It is the parents who arrange the match. Polyandry as well as polygamy is unknown.

A suitable young woman is sought for in the matrimonial market, and the conjugal contract is made by the parents of the young man, whose conduct the woman's parents are satisfied with. The bride's money is only a rupee. The day for the ceremony is chosen, when the bridegroom, dressed in a small neat *mundu* and a skull cap made of the bark of areca palm, with his parents, sisters, relatives and friends, arrives at the house of the bride at the appointed time, taking with him a necklace of glass beads and two pieces of cloth (*kacha*). The bride is bathed and dressed in her new wedding garments. She appears, in her new ornaments. There is no *tali* tying. A small feast is held for the guests assembled. The provisions for the feast are a few months' savings of paddy or rice obtained as wages or charity from the village. The ceremony is performed in the afternoon. From that day they live together as man and wife. Next morning the guests depart. The bridegroom goes to his hut with the bride.

Generally nobody from her hut accompanies them unless she weeps at the time of departure. In that case she is consoled by her parents who assure her that she will be well fed and clothed in her husband's hut and that she will in future live in comfort. A feast is also held in the hut of the bridegroom. After staying there for a week they are invited to the bride's hut, where also they stay for a few days. Conjugal fidelity is very common, if not the rule, amongst them.

Widows can re-marry, but sometimes without formal ceremony. The brothers of the deceased do not as a rule form any conjugal union with the widows left by the latter.

If the husband does not like his wife, owing to her misconduct or otherwise, she is taken to her parents' hut. Divorce is soon effected and he gets back half her purchase money. The wife who finds it difficult to get on with her husband goes back to her hut and returns her purchase money. The grown-up children live with the father, while the babies, if any, reside with the mother who is free to marry again. When the children desire to see their mother, they are sent to her and she keeps them for a day or two.

The Nayadis follow the Makkathayam law of inheritance. These poor people have no property except perhaps their huts and a few utensils. They swear by their father or mother. They believe that false oaths make them blind. Living in the forests, and far remote from the members of the higher castes, these poor people have very few opportunities of knowing anything about the higher forms of Hinduism. They believe in the existence of certain mountain deities who are supposed to watch over their welfare and to protect them against wild beasts. It is their belief that if, by neglect or indifference, they fail to propitiate them by offerings, they would appear to them in dreams and thrash them and sometimes immerse them in water. They attribute all accidents to their gods. Rain and thunder are caused by them.

Their chief gods are *Mallan*, *Malavazhi*, *Parakutty* and the spirits of their ancestors. When offerings are not given at the proper time the gods are inclined to do them harm. The offerings consist of toddy, fried grain (paddy) and the flesh of monkeys.

Parakutty is the deity or demon who aids them in their hunting expeditions. He brings them the game and protects them from the attacks of wild animals. When they do not succeed in getting the expected game, they go to the length of abusing him

for his ingratitude and for betraying the trust they have reposed in him.

Ancestor worship is performed in a part of the hut when the floor is slightly raised and cowdunged. Images or representations of the departed are kept either in the hut or near it.

Offerings are given on the following occasions:—Karkata-sankranti, Vrischikasankranti, the Onam festival, the Vishu festival, Kumbha Bharani. Stones are placed representing the images of the demons or departed ancestors. A sheep or a fowl is killed and the blood is let fall on them. The flesh is cooked. Prayers also are offered. A puja is performed by the priest during the night, with offerings of flesh, boiled rice, toddy and husk, when the people stand at a distance, because they cannot look at what is being done. The priest claps his hands when the puja is over, and they approach. They then partake of the offerings.

When the offerings are placed in front of the images, prayers are muttered in praise of them. "O my Malla! my Malavazhi! my Parakutty! my Father! my Mother! my dead ancestors! I give you these offerings which I have with difficulty obtained from Thampurakal (members of higher castes) as alms. May you accept them, and protect us against wild beasts as we are wandering through the forests. May you protect our children!"

Whenever these people labour under any calamity or disease, they consult their astrologer, a Parayan, who is also their magician and sorcerer, as to the means of relief. He cleverly manages to elicit the true facts and circumstances, and then takes a handful of paddy and divides it into groups of four, three or two grains. According to the group he gets, he makes certain predictions, which he could have made without all this trouble or they could have reached for themselves on calm deliberation. He attributes the calamity to the anger of their gods, to whom offerings may not have been given in time, perhaps for want of means. It is thus that these poor people are duped.

When a woman is under demoniacal influence and makes frantic movements, the Parayan, their devil driver and sorcerer, is invited. He is furnished with a thread and some toddy. Muttering some prayers to Parakutty and other deities, he ties the thread round the woman's neck and drinks the toddy supplied for the occasion. Then the demon leaves her.

Generally Nayadis have burial grounds. They either burn the dead or bury them. When a person of their caste dies his

body is washed, anointed and dressed in a new cloth. The corpse is carried by *enangans* (relatives) on a bamboo bier to the burial ground. Small bits of plaintain leaves with rice, etc., seven in all, are placed around the corpse. A pit is dug; the body, covered with a piece of cloth or a mat, is lowered into it from north to south, and the pit is then partly filled in. Seven layers of stones are placed in it. Layers of earth are again thrown in. Layers of stones are added, and the grave is finally filled in with earth. The site is marked by three big stones, one in the middle and one at each end. Care is taken to prevent jackals and dogs from disturbing the dead body in the grave. From the time of death till the funeral is over, all the relatives and the members of the family fast. They bathe and eat fruit or other articles, but do not take anything cooked until the following morning. They never resort to meat during the days of pollution. From the second day the son, or the member who performed the funeral rites, bathes early in the morning and gives the *bali* (rice ball offering). This is the food for the spirit in his passage to Yama-loka. He has to cook his meals himself or the *enangan* does it for him. The pollution lasts for ten days. On the tenth day they collect a small quantity of rice, some grass, water in a cocoanut shell, an entire plantain leaf and a lighted wick. The agnates all assemble, and go to a river or some water reservoir close by to bathe. A sand heap, or a figure made of earth to represent the deceased, is prepared. The plaintain leaf with the articles above referred to is placed near it. The eldest son begins the ceremony by standing before the leaf with his face towards the east. He pours the water twelve times, and the others then respectfully prostrate themselves before it. The rice is left to be eaten by the crows. They return home, and the *enangan* purifies them by sprinkling on each member a little of the mixture of cowdung and water. Those assembled are sumptuously fed. The eldest son performs the *Diksha* ceremony (allowing hair to grow) for a year. He abstains from eating meat during this period. He performs the ceremony of *Sradha* at the end of the year, when he terminates his *Diksha*. On the Karkataka, Sankranti or some other auspicious day, he zealously gives his offerings to his ancestors, with the implicit belief that the prosperity of his family depends upon their blessings.

When dead bodies are burned, the bones are collected on the seventh day, and preserved in a pot to be disposed of in a river or

a tank at some convenient time. The burning of the corpse is very rare for want of means to buy firewood.

In the case of dead bodies that are buried, the grave is dug up. The body may have decayed and combined with the earth. In that case the bones are collected and placed in a pit, along with firewood, and burned. The half burnt bones, with the ashes, are collected and buried by the side of a stream. On this all the agnates pour water three times, and reverentially prostrate themselves before it and disperse. After the mourners return home the ceremony terminates with a feast. The period of mourning for an adult is ten days. Ceremonies are performed for the propitiation of ancestors. For a childless ancestor, his brother, or anybody closely related to him, performs the funeral rites.

The Nayadis as a class are averse to manual labour. They collect honey, bees' wax and *mattipasa* (resin) from the *mattipal* tree (Alianthus Malabarica) which they sell for a few copper coins with which they purchase their few articles of daily consumption (salt, chillies, dried fish, tobacco and toddy). They make a kind of rope from malanar plants and the bark of *kayul* trees. They make slings of fibres, with which they shoot birds.

During the Onam and Vishu festivals, the Nayadis offer four ropes to every Nambudiri illam and two to every Nayar house near their village; in return for which they get some paddy and a few copper coins and a piece of cloth. They are sometimes employed in ploughing, sowing, weeding, transplanting and even reaping in the forest cultivation, for which they get a few *Edangazhis* of paddy. They have to watch the fields at nights against the attacks of wild beasts. They collect *incha* (bark of Acacia Incisia) which is soaked in water. The fibre is used as soap.

Whenever there is a grand feast in a *thara* or any locality, they stand far away from the public road, leaving there a piece of their ragged cloth and howling for charity from the passers-by.

By a wise arrangement of the old local chieftains, a *desam* is assigned to each Nayadi, wherein he enjoys certain privileges, and no members of his caste from another village can encroach upon his rights.

On birthdays, anniversaries and other festive occasions in well-to-do neighbouring houses, the Nayadis have their share of curry and rice. When they have no work they go out and stand at a distance from each house in the *thara*, howling with their

stentorian voices for charity. The inmates of some of these take a handful of rice, salt, chillies, tamarind, oil, mustard, cocoanut, and a few pice in a vessel and move them round the head of a child or adult, supposed to be under the influence of some demon or the potency of some evil eye, and hand them over to the Nayadi, who is then asked to curse (*Prauka*). There is a peculiar feature about a Nayadi's curse. The idea is that it always has an effect the opposite of what it purports, and hence when a Nayadi is asked to curse, he complies by invoking misery and evil upon the person who has given him alms. The terms used by him for such invocations are *Attupo*[1], *Mutinupo*[2], *Adimondupo*[3], etc. He does it gladly and returns home. When a person is suffering from any severe disease and is on the verge of death, a coarse black blanket (*kambli*) is bought. At the four corners of it sesamum or gingili seeds, mustard, turmeric, and cocoanuts are tied up, and it is passed three times over the patient. It is then given to a Nayadi together with an umbrella, a stick and a cucumber. It is called *kaladanam*. It is an offering to Yama, the god of death, who has to be propitiated in order that the calamity may be averted. The disease is supposed to be transferred to the Nayadi who has accepted it. Receiving this, he prays for the long life and prosperity of the patient. He then places the gifts before his Mallan, Malavazhi and Parakutty, with the prayer that the disease may not be transferred to himself[4].

Those who live in the forests of a landlord render him agricultural service, for which they receive small wages in kind for their subsistence. Others who live in the Sirkar forests get better wages.

The Nayadis live in huts with small roofs, resting on four bamboo pillars connected by bamboo beams. The roofs are thatched either with straw or with palmyra leaves. A small bamboo structure covered with straw or palmyra leaves takes the place of walls. The floor is slightly raised. They generally have their huts in sholas. They drag out a miserable existence in their wretched hovels. They produce fire by friction, and the benefits of a match-box, which can be had very cheaply, are unknown to them. These miserable specimens of humanity pass their days howling for charity, under the midday sun in summer and in rain during the monsoon months, and they have also to watch the crops of their landlords at nights. "This tribe", says Buchanan, "as long as they

[1], [2] To perish. [3] To be a slave. [4] This is generally done on Saturday.

continue in Malabar, will be useless to others and will exercise no influence in the country. They should be removed bodily to some place where they would be compelled to work for their sustenance." They were at one time skilful hunters and excellent shots. They used to accompany the Nayars in their hunting excursions as beaters. They themselves sometimes go out hunting and catch toad, tortoise, deer, &c., with the help of dogs, and beat them to death. Their weapons are slings, knives, axes and swords.

Their chief food is *kanji* and boiled rice. They get up early in the morning and prepare it. They take it in the early morning and go either to work or to seek alms. Should they get anything during the day, they have their evening meal; otherwise they have to starve for the night. Anything that remains out of the morning meal is given to the children during the day. They consume the roots of the nux vomica. The roots are cut into thin slices, which are boiled with salt to form a vegetable curry. Among the vegetables are included tubers of dios corea (yams) and colocasia, mangoes, jackfruits, and pumpkins. Sometimes they take the remains of meals prepared the previous night, which are generally *kanji* or rice boiled in water. They consume the flesh of monkeys, goats, wild squirrel, deer, rats, doves, quails, fowl, paddy birds, tortoises and crocodiles. They never eat the flesh of dogs, land crabs, shellfish, beef, vermin, snakes, lizards or jackals.

It has already been said that they are the Chandalas of the plains, and as such they cannot approach the habitations and the members of other castes. With much difficulty they cross public roads. They pollute a Brahmin by approaching him within a distance of three hundred feet, and he has to bathe, renew his sacred thread and take *panchagavyam*. Whenever they have to pass by a field, they always announce their passage by their persistent clamour, so that others may not be polluted. They are the lowest of castes, but do not partake of the preparations of the Pulayas and Parayas. Some are becoming converts to Christianity, and take a great interest in the study and utterance of Christian prayers and songs. Others become converts to Muhammadanism and maintain themselves by alms from Moslems. These are called Thoppyitta (capwearing) Nayadis. As a safeguard against snake-bite they wear a brass ring on one of their toes and say that it has been a successful cure in many such cases. While engaged in catching rats from their holes, they wear round their wrists snake-shaped metallic rings as a preventive against snake-bite.

In some places they have tufts of hair on the top of their heads while in others they appear clean shaved. They wear a small *mundu* around their waist, extending above the knees and appearing to be very dirty. They are seldom seen with a second *mundu*. They wear ear-rings of brass. They also wear charms round the arms or loins to cure diseases or protect themselves from the attack of demons. The women wear a dirty loin cloth (*katcha*) which is twice folded. They are seldom seen with an upper cloth. The lobes of the ears are dilated to contain wooden plugs which serve as *thodas* or ear-rings. Round the neck are seen several strings of beads with shells and pendants. These are not removed after the death of their husbands. Virgins do not wear any ornaments in particular. Nayadis are dark in colour, and lean and stunted in growth. Men and women are often seen standing at a distance with dishevelled hair and jaded looks. They appear to be as timid as some of the animals of the forest among whom they live. Their condition is one of misery and with no hope of bettering themselves. Those who have become converts to Muhammadanism or Christianity, can approach anybody and go where they like. On the whole they are a truth-speaking people with an aversion to stealing.

The senior members of the community are called the *Pramanies*. Their priest is called *Mooppen*, and his duty is hereditary. There is also another officer, called *Avakasi*, who is entitled to two-thirds of the shares in all domestic affairs of interest. The *Mooppen* has power to enquire into all matters affecting the community, and can excommunicate any guilty person. Disputes are not now settled by oaths.

L. K. ANANTHA KRISHNA IYER.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH INDIA AND CEYLON,

From the first Tamil invasion of the Island to the reign of King Vijaya Bahu of Ceylon.—II.

FOR nearly a century after these events we have hardly anything of importance to narrate. In the reign of Woharaka Tissa* [215—237 A.D. (Mahavamsa) 200—222 A.D. (Pujavaliya)] his

* Wijesinha's *Mahavamsa*, p. 145.

brother conspired against him and fled to India. Returning at the head of a Tamil army he wrested the crown from his brother. In the reign of his grandson Wijaya, three members of the "Lambakanna" race conspired together, and murdering the king usurped all authority. They ascended the throne one after another, and the last of them, Gothabhaya [254—267 A.D. (Mahavamsa), 239—252 A.D. (Pujavaliya)] was obliged to banish a body of heretics to India. From there Sanghamitta, an Indian follower of the exiles, went over to Ceylon with a view to propagate their creed. Gothabhaya was so much pleased with him that he appointed him tutor to his sons. The younger of these, Mahasena [277—304 (Mahavamsa) 262—294 (Pujavaliya)] allowed himself to be led astray (from the Buddhist religion) and when he came to the throne Sanghamitta was appointed his chief minister. He now threw off his disguise and commenced a persecution of the orthodox Buddhists. Driven to despair by the spoliation of the Viharas, the Singhalese rose in rebellion and put the Indian Minister to death. Mahasena repented and returned to the fold of the orthodox church. He then appears to have negotiated with the king of Kalinga for the tooth-relic of Buddha. Guhasiva of Kalinga was its happy owner. But, being attacked by a king Khiradhara, he instructed his daughter Hemamala and her husband to carry the relic to the king of Ceylon in case the war ended unfavourably. Guhasiva lost his life in battle. His daughter and son-in-law, after some adventures on the route, succeeded in reaching Ceylon with the relic "in the ninth year of the reign of king Kittisirimegha, the son of Mahasena."*

A century after the arrival of the tooth-relic in Ceylon, Mahanama mounted the island throne. Between these two events a Gupta sovereign claims to have reduced the South Indian kings and Ceylon. According to the Gupta inscription on the Allahabad Lat of Asoka, Samudra Gupta received "acts of respectful service . . . . . by the people of Sinhala and all other dwellers in islands."† (350 A.D.)

* *Dhatuvamsa* (Coomaraswamy's Translation), p. 69. The other early records about the Tooth-relic are:

Mahavamsa, (Turnour), page 241.
Rajavali (Upham), page 239.
Raja Ratnacari (Upham), page 71.
Pujavaliya (Gunasekara), page 25.
Phra Pathom—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. A. S., 1848. Vol. XVII, Part 2, p. 82.

† Dutt's *Ancient India*, Calcutta Edn., Vol. III, pp. 64–65; also Mabel Duff's *The Chronology of India*, p. 28.

Mahanama* in whose reign the celebrated Buddhaghosa visited Ceylon, had for his wife a Tamil princess and by her he had a son and a daughter. On the king's death his son ascended the throne, but he was soon put to death by his sister who elevated her husband to the kingship. The husband died and she married a second time. But before a year was over, the conquering Tamil hordes burst again on the island [436—463 (Mahavamsa), 426—453 (Pujavaliya)] and the Singhalese princes had once again to seek refuge in Rohana. Pandu the new Tamil invader, evidently a Pandyan prince, defeated and killed Mittasena, the queen's second husband, and a Tamil kingdom was created which extended from the Mahaveli-Ganga to the ocean on the north. The spirit of nationality was again roused in the south and Dhatusena, a prince of pure royal blood and of high intellectual and military attainments, was chosen leader of the native forces. Pandu tried to get the young prince into his power, but failed and had to wage a war with Dhatusena all through his reign of five years. After Pandu, his son Parinda reigned at Anuradhapura for three years, and he was succeeded by Khudda Parinda who reigned for sixteen years. Then Tiritara, after reigning for two months, died fighting. The next king, Dathiya, ruled for three years and Dhatusena put an end to his career also. The last of this dynasty of Tamil conquerors was Pithiya, whose reign did not extend beyond seven months. Dhatusena, after having completely vanquished the Tamils, ascended the throne of Anuradhapura.

Unlike Elara, Pandu and his followers set aside Buddhism in favour of Brahmanism.† It was now the work of Dhatusena to demolish the twenty-one forts built by the Tamils, to banish the foreign religion and restore Buddhism to its former splendour. During these years of foreign domination such of the Singhalese aristocracy as remained in Pihiti freely intermarried with the Tamils. Dhatusena was justly incensed against people who instead of supporting their lawful king had entered into ties of kinship with foreign usurpers, so he confiscated their properties and bestowed them on his faithful followers.‡ Dhatusena had two sons and a daughter who was married to his nephew. Through domestic quarrels the eldest son, Kassapa, and the nephew plotted the death of the aged king. Kassapa then ascended the

* Wijesinha's *Mahavamsa*, Part I, pages 160—164.

† *Raja Ratnacari*, p. 75.

‡ Wijesinha's *Mahavamsa*, part 1, page 164.

throne, and persecuted the adherents of his brother Moggalana who, unable to raise a strong army to avenge his father, had fled to India. After wandering for about eighteen years in Tamil countries Moggalana is said to have secured the assistance of twelve Tamil chieftains with whom he landed in Rohana. Joined by his followers in the island, he marched on Sigiri, the mountain fortress in which his brother was sheltering himself [497 (Mahavamsa) 489 (Pujavaliya).] The battle which followed ended in the death of the parricide and Moggalana was crowned King.

We may assume that the Tamils were now occupying a very important position in Ceylon. They could not but have been conscious of their power and the frequent appeals for their intervention must have resulted in the demoralisation of the islanders. The folly of invoking the arbitrament of the foreign sword to settle every domestic quarrel, gave the death-blow to Singhalese indepence; and the subsequent history of Ceylon, till the advent of the European powers on the scene, presents to us one long series of Tamil immigrations. The Tamils came either to swell the armies of rebellious vassals or dethroned monarchs, or to aid ambitious Indian kings in carving out a kingdom beyond the seas. The native dynasty again and again made attempts to re-establish its supremacy, but its days were past; and great kings like Vijayabahu and Parakramabahu could, in spite of all their glorious achievements, only prop up a throne which was rotten at its base. What Ilanaga and Moggalana did was repeated frequently. Every fresh quarrel saw fresh bands of mercenaries, and these mercenaries generally settled down in Ceylon. The numbers of the Tamils became so great that the kings of Ceylon were finally obliged for safety to abandon their ancient capital and to found a new one in Pulabasti.*

We will now briefly run over the various civil wars in which Indians took part dealing in detail with only such events as were of importance in the history of South India also.

In 614 A.D.† King Silameghavanna came to the throne. Srinaga, a native chief, crossed over to India. He collected a large Tamil mercenary army and, returning to Ceylon, attempted to wrest the kingdom from Silameghavanna who, however, defeated the rebel at Rajamittaka and took a large number of Tamil pri-

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* or Polannaruwa.

† The dates are only approximately correct. I show later a discrepancy of about 25 years in the chronology of the *Mahavamsa*.

soners. "And after he had most cruelly treated them he gave them away as slaves to different Viharas in the island."*

In the first year of the reign of Silameghavanna's successor, Aggabodhi III, Jetthatissa, the Governor of Malaya, rose in rebellion and drove the king to seek shelter in India. Aggabodhi returned to Ceylon in 624 A. D. at the head of a Tamil army. The usurper Getthatissa also sent over his general to India to collect men to fight on his side. Thus the Tamils enlisted on both sides. Getthatissa was defeated, and soon afterwards he committed suicide. Aggabodhi was restored to the throne, to be however driven out again to India in 635 A.D. He appears to have once again recovered his throne and to have once again, and finally, lost it in 640 A.D.†

Dathopatissa,‡ the last usurper, reigned till 652 when he was in his turn driven to India. Later he returned to Ceylon with a Tamil army but he was defeated and slain by Kassapa II.

Kassapa II died in 661 A. D., making his nephew, Mana, regent for his son. The Tamils had now a bad time of it, for Mana set himself to deprive all the Tamils of their offices. Thereupon they conspired together and sent for Hatthadatha who had fled to India on the death of his father, the usurper Dathopatissa. Hatthadatha at once returned to Ceylon with some Tamil mercenaries, and on his march to the capital he was joined by all the Tamils permanently resident in Ceylon. "And having now gained over the great men of the Tamil party, (he) seized the royal city and proclaimed himself king by the name of Dathopatissa II".§

The sentence quoted above from the Mahavamsa shows in the clearest light the real position of the Tamils now in the island. They formed a party and the power of the party was great enough to make and unmake kings. They held some of the highest appointments and kept the kings in a state of the greatest dread

On the death of Aggabodhi IV, brother of Dathopatissa II, a Tamil, Pottha Kuttha by name, assumed the government and ruled through puppet kings of his own choice.‖

Events of great importance were about this time taking

* Wijesinha's *Mahavamsa*, p. 27.

† *Ibid*. pp. 28—30.

‡ *Ibid*. pp. 30—31.

§ *Ibid*. p. 34.

‖ *Ibid*. pp. 39—40.

place on the mainland*. The Chalukyas who occupied the regions of the Western Dekhan separated themselves early in the seventh century into two great nations. One branch of this race migrated eastwards and, wresting the regions of the Godavari and the Krishna from the Pallava kings, settled down on the conquered soil and founded the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. Satyasraya I or Pulakesi II, the brother of Kubja Vishnuvardhana, the founder of this new Eastern Chalukya Kingdom, remained in the original home of this people, and reigned as the king of the Western Chalukya nation. At this time in the North there reigned the famous Harsha Vardhana Siladhitya of Kanauj, and in the South were dominant the Pallava kings of Kanchi. Like a wedge driven in between these two powers was the united Chalukya race. Pulakesi II of the Western Chalukyas was the dangerous enemy and rival of both Harshavardhana and Narasimhavarma of the Pallavas. According to his inscriptions, the Rashtrakutas, the Latas, the Malavas, the Gurjaras, the Mauryas, the Pallavas, all felt the might of his victorious arms. Harshavardhana he defeated in battle, and the independence of the Cholas was threatened. Hiuen Tsiang bears testimony to the greatness and power of Pulakesi. Yet we gather from the Pallava grants, the Periapuranam and the Mahavamsa that Narasimhavarma I at last overthrew the Chalukya power and even destroyed Vatapi, the capital of the Western Chalukya Kingdom.

At this time Manavamma†, a son of Kassapa II, was living at the Court of Narasimhavarma I of the Pallavas. We learn from the Mahavamsa that Manavamma fled to India on the accession of Dathopatissa II. There he took service under "Narasiha," who has been identified by Mr. Venkayya with the Pallava king, Narasimhavarma I ‡. In spite of slight chronological difficulties the proofs of the identity of Narasiha with Narasimhavarma Pallava are too strong to be controverted. The Mahavamsa tells us that Narasiha was attacked by a king called Vallabha, and that in the battle between the two kings Prince Manavamma, who

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* Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan* [1896] p. 182.
Fleet's *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 349.
Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. II, pp. 211-212.
Beal's *Life of Hiuen Tisang*.
Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*.

† Wijesinha's *Mahavamsa*, pp. 41 -45.

‡ *The Madras Christian College Magazine*, November, 1893, p. 280.

had been left behind by Narasiha, suddenly turned up at the head of some reinforcements and contributed to the success of his patron's arms.

Now this story of the war in India as given in the Mahavamsa so well coincides with the Pallava-Chalukaya war, known from other sources, that we are justified in concluding that Narasiha was Narasimhavarma and that Vallabha, a title commonly added on to the names of the Chalukya kings, stands for Satyasraya I, also known as Pulakesi II, Sri Prithivi Vallabha, Sri Vallabhendra* and Vallabha Raja.†

The destruction of Vatapi is alluded to in the Periapuranam. Siruttonda Nayanar, one of the saints celebrated in the work, is identified by Mr. Venkayya with a general of the Pallava king Narasimhavarma I. The original name of this saint was Paranjodiyar. It is said of him that on behalf of his king he led an expedition to the North and "reduced to dust the old city of Vatavi" or Vatapi, the capital of Pulakesi II. The victory is alluded to in the Kuram plates ‡ thus:—

"Narasimhavarman who . . wrote the (three) syllables of (the word) Vijaya as on a plate, on Pulakesin's back, which was caused to be visible in the battles of Pariyala, Manimangala, Suramara, etc., and who destroyed Vatapi, just as the pitcher-born (Agastya) (the demon) Vatapi."

The destruction of Vatapi is also alluded to in the Udayendiram plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla§ thus:—

"From him Narasimhavarman who destroyed Vatapi just as Agastya destroyed (the demon) Vatapi, who frequently conquered Vallabharaja at Pariyala, Manimangala, Suramara and other places."

A Tamil inscription from Tirukkarukkunram† refers to Vatapi-konda Narasimkappottaraiyar, who, Mr. Venkayya shows||, is no other than the Pallava king Narasimhavarma I. Add to these the testimony borne by the Kasakudi plates¶ to be referred to below.

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* Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 148.

† Udayendiram plates of Nandivarman, verse 3—*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II., Part III.

‡ *South Indian Inscriptions*. Vol. I., p. 148.
Ibid. Vol. II. Part III. pp. 366-370.

§ *The Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. Part VI. pp. 279—280.

|| *Ibid*. Vol. III, Part VI. p. 277.

¶ Verse 22. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Part III.

From all these indications it is clear that there was a war between Narasimhavarma I and Pulakesi II; that Pulakesi was defeated and his capital destroyed; that 'Narasiha' referred to in the Mahavamsa as the patron of the pretender Manavamma was no other than the Pallava king Narasimhavarma I; and that Vallabha mentioned in the Mahavamsa as having been defeated by Narasiha must be identical with Pulakesi II, otherwise known as Vallabharaja.

The part played by Manavamma in the service of the Pallava king seems naturally to have been exaggerated by our Singhalese authorities. His presence at the Pallava Court and his share in the victory over the Chalukyas are not mentioned in any of the Pallava grants or inscriptions; on the other hand, the part played by Narasimhavarma in the affairs of Ceylon is not mentioned in the Mahavamsa alone but finds a place in the Kasakudi plates:

लंकाजयाधरित रामपराक्रम श्री [रुद्दृ]प्तशत्रुकुलसंक्षयधूमकेतुः वातापि-
निर्जय विळम्बितकुम्भजन्मा वीरस्ततोजनिजयि नरसिंहवर्मा ॥

"From him was born the victorious hero, Narasimhavarman who surpassed the glory of the valour of Rama by the conquest of Lanka, who was a comet of destruction to the crowd of proud enemies, who imitated the pitcher-born (Agastya) by the conquest of Vatapi."

Even according to the Singhalese chronicles Narasimhavarma is justly entitled to the credit of a conquest of Ceylon; for it was with the aid of the men and money supplied by him that Manavamma was able to gain possession of the Singhalese throne. After the conclusion of the war with Vallabha, Narasimhavarma, pleased with the services rendered to him by Manavamma, entrusted to him a large army and sent him to conquer Ceylon for himself. Manavamma invaded his native island, drove Dathopatissa II before him and entered Anuradhapura. But the Tamil army rebelled and a large number went over to the enemy. Thereupon Manavamma retired to India and once again sought help from his old friend. Narasimhavarma again equipped him with a large army, and this time Manavamma was successful. The Tamil king-maker, Pottha Kuttha, and his latest nominee, Hattha Datta, were defeated. It is difficult to decide the exact dates of these events. As Dr. Hultzsch shows there is a difference of about half a century between the latest known date of Pulakesi II and

the accession of Manavamma.* We need not however go to the extent of saying with Dr. Hultzsch that Manavamma's accession was half a century before 691. We have to remember that it was some time, perhaps a few years, after the destruction of Vatapi that Manavamma first invaded Ceylon; that he conducted a campaign which took him far into the interior of the country; that he was then defeated and driven back; that for some time longer, about twenty years according to the Mahavamsa, he stayed at the Pallava court; and that he invaded Ceylon a second time, and waged a successful war before winning his crown. The Mahavamsa also mentions the fact that Manavamma was long in Pallava service and that he was getting old. I think that we shall not be far wrong if we allow a period of twenty or twenty-five years between the destruction of Vatapi and the accession of Manavamma. The Mahavamsa continues this chronological discrepancy of about twenty-five years, and I shall have occasion to refer to it several times in the following pages.

For a century and a half after the accession of Manavamma, the Singhalese kings fought and died without the interference of Indian kings or adventurers. The hundred and fifty years were not, however, years of peace; they were disturbed as usual by civil wars and insurrections; occasionally a prince fled to India, and occasionally a pretender to the throne arrived in Ceylon from his Indian refuge. It is highly probable that the stream of Tamil migration steadily flowed on; but the Singhalese chronicles do not mention any invasion from India, whether to aid a native prince or to fight for an ambitious Indian monarch. The Chalukya king, Vinayaditya† (680-696), is said however to have levied tribute from Ceylon; but this single assertion is unsupported by any other source, Indian or Ceylonese.

The state of affairs in South India in the eighth century was such as to prevent any great undertaking which would necessitate the despatch of thousands of soldiers to a distant country. The old order was dying if not dead, and the new order was not fully established. The balance of power was shifting. The Pallavas had been humbled by the repeated attacks of the Chalukyas;

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* *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. Part III. p. 344. The two dates are 642 and 691. We may place Manavamma's accession roughly about 667 A. D.

† Bhandárkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 183.

Fleet's *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 368.

successful revolts and foreign invasions crushed, for a time, the Western Chalukya kingdom.* The Rashtrakutas were rising on the ruins of the Chalukya power;† but their arms did not yet reach the extreme south. Very little is known of the Tamil states of South India. They were, perhaps, fighting among themselves. About the middle of the ninth century Varaguna Pandya appears to have been defeated by the Ganga king, Prithivipati I, near Kumbakonam *in the heart of the Chola country*;‡ this shows that the Chola power had then sunk into comparative insignificance. The second half of the ninth century marks the commencement of a fresh chapter in South Indian dynastic history. The Chola empire is born anew, and under able monarchs it gradually rises to a position of supremacy in the tenth century. With the advance of the Cholas, the Pandyans sink in importance; their country is repeatedly overrun and reduced to a position of dependence. The Kongus who ruled over Salem, Coimbatore and parts of Mysore are conquered by Aditya Chola; § and the Eastern Chalukyas intermarry with the Cholas ‖ and evidently allow themselves to be guided by the latter. The Rashtrakutas make a brief struggle against the rising power of the Cholas, and for a time even succeed in over-running Chola territory;¶ but under Kakka II, the last of their kings, they are overthrown by Taila II of the Western Chalukyas about 973 A.D.** Under this Taila II the Western Chalukyas once again rise into prominence; but their territory is confined to the Dekhan, and even there they are attacked by Raja Raja Chola and his successors.

In the absence of a strong power in the South, Ceylon enjoyed a fair amount of freedom from attacks from the Indian coast; but with the rise of the Cholas the South became strong again and Ceylon once more felt the might of her neighbours.

I have anticipated a little to show how Indian influence in Ceylon rose and fell according as there was or was not a strong power in South India. We shall now return to the times of Sena

* Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 151.

† Fleet: *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*," p. 389.

‡ Udayendiram plates of Prithivipati II, verse 11; page 381, *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Part III.

§ Salem *District Manual*.

‖ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 232.

¶ Under Rashtrakuta Krishna III.

** Fleet: *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 424.

I of Ceylon [829-849].* He was probably a contemporary of Varaguna Pandya of Madura.† The Pandyan king invaded Ceylon and devastated the northern portion of the island. "A great number of the Tamils who were scattered about the country, joined themselves to him, whereby his power was greatly increased. The Singhalese were defeated, and Sena fled to the hilly country of Malaya. The Pandyans pursued the fugitives and laid hands on whatever they found; and their king, enriching himself with the treasures of the conquered country, made Lanka of none value whatsoever, and the beautiful city he left desolate, even as if it had been laid waste by evil spirits." He then entered into negotiations with the king of Ceylon, and handing over the country to him, like Nadir Shah of a later day, returned home rich with spoil.

The successor of Sena I found an opportunity to avenge the wrongs inflicted on his country by the king of Madura.‡ A son of the Pandyan rebelled against his father and sought shelter at the Ceylonese Court. Sena II, who was evidently being incited by the priesthood to recover the lost idol of Buddha, readily undertook to support the Pandyan prince and sent out an army with instructions to kill the Pandyan, seat his son on the throne, recover the treasures carried off from Ceylon, and return with all speed. The Singhalese army arrived in Pandyan territory, laid waste the country and besieged Madura. The Mahavamsa gives a vivid description of the siege. The Pandyan king, who does not appear to have been in his capital at the time, hurried up and gave battle. Being defeated, he escaped from the field of battle and "gave up his life in the wrong place," instead of meeting his fate like a true warrior. Thereupon Madura surrendered, and the young prince was seated on the throne. After looting the rich city the Singhalese captain and his soldiers returned home, and the king of Ceylon "held a feast of triumph and drank wine in honour of this victory."

Certain Ceylonese inscriptions published by Dr. Goldschmidt, late of the Ceylon Archæological Department,§ also refer to this

* Wijesinha's *Mahavamsa*, pp. 63-65. The date is that of the *Pujavaliya* which, as I shall show later, is from this time clearly more accurate in its chronology than the *Mahavamsa*.

† Mr. Venkayya in the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, January 1896, p. 402.

‡ Wijesinha's *Mahavamsa*, pp. 69-70, Upham's *Raja Ratnacari*, p. 80.

§ *The Indian Antiquary*, 1877, p. 322-323.

expedition against Madura. Dr. Goldschmidt identifies the king mentioned in them as having "ransacked the kingdom of Pandi," with Kassapa VI (V?) This is evidently wrong, because, as we shall see later, Kassapa V invaded India, not to fight against the Pandyan king, but to fight for him against the Chola Parantaka I.

This was the first occasion on which the Singhalese took part in continental politics and interfered in the dynastic struggles of South India. An alliance was thus formed with the Pandyans, and for a long time to come this alliance was faithfully observed by the rulers of Madura and Ceylon. The friendship between the two royal houses was tested before long when, early in the tenth century, a Pandyan king applied to the Singhalese for aid against the Cholas. From a grant of the Bana king Hastimalla we learn that this sovereign was Rajasimha Pandya. In the first half of the tenth century the most powerful of the South Indian kings was Parantaka I, *alias* Vira Narayana Chola Deva [c. 900—940].* Rajasimha Pandya was at war with him, and hardpressed by Parantaka he appealed to Ceylon for help. The Singhalese king, Kassapa V, despatched a strong army under Sakka Senapati to help his ally. According to the Mahavamsa † the Pandyan king, unable to lead the united Pandyan and Singhalese armies to victory, gave up the attempt at fighting the Cholas and withdrew. But the Ceylonese general determined to fight. An epidemic broke out in the camp, the general died, and Kassapa, taking compassion on his men, recalled them from India. This is evidently a Singhalese attempt to minimise their defeat.

From other sources, however, we learn that the allied armies were defeated by Parantaka. From the Tiruvisaippa ‡ we learn that a Chola king,—Parantaka I, judging from the date of the work—conquered the Pandyas and the Singhalese. The Udayendiram grant of the Bana king Hastimalla, published by Mr. Foulkes in the Salem Manual,§ speaks of Sri Vira Narayana Deva "having slain in an instant, at the head of a battle, an immense army, despatched by the lord of Lanka, which teemed with brave soldiers (and) was interspersed with troops of elephants and horses........." "When he had defeated the Pandya Raja-

* *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Part III, p. 381; also Mabel Duff's *The Chronology of India*, p. 82.

† pp. 80-81, [Wijesinha's Edition.]

‡ Quoted by Mr. Venkayya in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, Part VI, p. 277.

§ Vol. II, p. 372; also *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Part III, pages 383 and 387.

simha, two persons experienced the same fear at the same time; [Kubera] the lord of wealth on account of the *defeat* * of his own friend, and Vibhishana on account of the proximity" (of the Chola dominions to Ceylon). The Kalingattu Parani, which records the conquest of Kalinga by Kulottunga Chola Deva I (1063-1112) mentions the conquest of Madura and Ceylon† by Vira Narayana. The Kongudesa Rajakkal says that Vira Chola Narayana Raya "in alliance with the Pandya king conquered many other countries. Afterwards, he went to Singadiva, and engaging in war he conquered the Simala Raja." ‡ Now from all these statements it is clear that Vira Narayana, or Parantaka I, did undoubtedly defeat the Singhalese. All our authorities, with the exception of the Kongu-desa-Rajakkal, agree that he defeated a Pandya-Singhalese combination. We have also to remember that the Udayendiram grant referred to above, was made in the fifteenth year § of the reign of Parantaka I by his vassal, Prithivipati Hastimalla. This contemporary record must certainly be more trustworthy and accurate than the Kongu-desa-Rajakkâl. Besides, it is inconceivable that the Pandyas should have united with their enemies, the Cholas, against their allies, the Singhalese.

There are two other points to be cleared up. What was the date of this defeat? Did Parantaka invade Ceylon? The grant of Hastimalla, which mentions the defeat of the Singhalese, is dated the fifteenth year of Parantaka. If we accept 900 A.D. || as the probable date ot Parantaka's accession we arrive at the conclusion that the above war must have taken place some time before 915 A.D. The Mahavamsa, however, assigns to Kassapa V the dates 929-939, which would mean that the war was waged, at the earliest, during 929-930. There is thus a minimum difference of fifteen, and a maximum of thirty-nine years between the two possible dates for the war. The Pujavaliya, on the other hand, assigns to Kassapa the dates 912-918, and thus approaches the dates we should get by supposing with Dr. Hultzsch that Paran-

* घात does not necessarily mean "killing;" it may mean a "blow;" hence "defeat" and not "death."

† "ஈழமுந்தமிழ்க் கூட லுஞ்சிதைத்
திகல் கடந்தகோ னிசை பரந்ததும்" Ilam (ஈழம்) was the old Tamil name for Ceylon.

‡ *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. XIV. p. 14.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VIII (Old Series), p. 7.

§ The first line of the Tamil portion of the grant.

|| *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 381.

taka commenced his reign about 900 A.D. and inferring therefrom that he defeated the Singhalese before 915 A.D. Combining, therefore, the date of Hastimalla's grant with those of the Pujavaliya for Kassapa, we arrive at 912-915 as the date of the war.

I have noticed before, in connection with the war between Narasimhavarma and Pulakesi, a discrepancy of about twenty-five years in the chronology of the Mahavamsa. The same discrepancy appears to vitiate the chronology here also.

As regards the question whether Parantaka invaded Ceylon, it is difficult to give a definite answer. The Udayendiram grant of Hastimalla refers to the defeat of the Singhalese *on Indian soil*, but makes no mention of a conquest of Ceylon. We are, therefore, certain that, till about 915 A.D., Parantaka did not invade Ceylon. The Mahavamsa makes no mention of any invasion of Ceylon between 866 and 964 A.D., while the Pujavaliya says that in the time of Kuda Dapula (918-930 A.D.) the Cholas made an invasion into, though not a conquest of, Ceylon. Thus the Pujavaliya partially agrees with the Tiruvisaippa, Kalingattu Parani and Kongudesa-Rajakkal.

U. P. KUKILLAYA.

(To be continued.)

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

THE letter from Dr. Miller to former students of the College which appears under 'College Notes' requires a few words of explanation. In our May issue there was reprinted the part of the last annual Report of the College Council that dealt with the proposed extension of the College buildings. The Council said in their Report:—" The sum that the College is called upon to raise cannot be less than a lakh and a half, and towards this sum the Council hope that every alumnus of the College will feel a personal responsibility and a personal pride in contributing his share." The communication to which Dr. Miller refers in the first sentence of his letter is the appeal which will be issued shortly to former students inviting them to assist their *Alma Mater* to bear the heavy burden that is laid upon her.

THE Council in the month of March said that the cost of the proposed extensions could " hardly be less than a lakh and a half"; but this was too sanguine an estimate. Now that the site has been bought

and detailed plans and estimates prepared, it is found that, if all be done that it is most desirable to do for the College, the cost will be not less than *two lakhs and a half*. The site of the proposed buildings, which is to the North of the present building and extends from Linghi Chetti Street through to Angappa Naick Street, has alone cost almost Rs. 75,000. The building, the fittings, furniture, gas, water and electricity will come to Rs. 1,70,000, and apparatus to Rs. 15,000 more, —in all Rs. 2,60,000. However generous may be the assistance that Government will give for the carrying out of the undertaking, a large part of the cost will require to be met from private sources.

IT is not expected that funds will be available to carry out the whole scheme immediately, but part of it will have to be taken in hand without delay, so that the College may be ready to begin the new courses for the Intermediate Examination in 1909. The part that it is thus proposed to begin with, will be situated in Linghi Chetti Street, and will consist of a Physics Intermediate laboratory and two large lecture-rooms. These lecture-rooms will help to relieve the congestion on the second floor of the present building, with which old students of the College must be familiar. A gallery will be built in the College Hall, which will give additional space for examination purposes and will, at the same time, give access from the second floor of the old building to the staircase leading to the new block. All this work ought to be finished by the end of next year and, with the site, will cost close upon Rs. 1,50,000.

THE construction of a Physics B. A. laboratory will in due course have to be proceeded with, and this, with apparatus, will cost about Rs. 45,000 more. Then, as it is most desirable even for purposes of convenience to have the Physics lecture-room and the Chemical laboratory in the same block as the laboratories for Physics, the plans include a new Chemical laboratory and Physics classroom. The space thus vacated in the old building will then become available for the library, and will also supply some further much needed class-room accommodation for both College and School. It is also proposed to include in the new building Natural Science laboratories and a class museum. These laboratories, with the new Chemical laboratory and Physics classroom, will form the extension running East and West on the North side of a quadrangle that will be left open between the old building and the new.

DR. MILLER was so much impressed by the necessity for an extension of the buildings such as has been described that, before he left for

Scotland, he subscribed Rs. 20,000 towards the cost of it. The professors of the College are subscribing Rs. 5,000. The Foreign Missions Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland, which is the Supreme Governing Body of the College, has voted £1,000 for the object, and has commended the scheme to the liberality of the Church. Dr. Alexander Miller, who has been so good a friend to the College, has given £500, and a few other friends have already come forward with sums varying from £100 to ten shillings. But the sum that is required to carry out the whole scheme is a very large one, between £17,000, and £18,000, and it is plain that the College will need the support of all who are interested in it, former students and others, if it is to be provided with the accommodation and equipment befitting an institution which holds so prominent and important a place in the education of South India.

OWING to the pressure upon our space this month we can do little more than allude to the important document which has been published since last we went to press,—the letter from the Government of India to Local Governments and Administrations regarding the formation of Imperial and Provincial Advisory Councils and the enlargement of the Legislative Councils. It is easy to understand the contemptuous irritation with which these proposals have been greeted by those who have fondly persuaded themselves that Swaraj is already a subject of practical politics and who have been hoping for heroic measures of reform. For them the mountains have been in labour and it is not easy to welcome the birth of the Horatian 'mouse.' Nevertheless, the mouse of another fable was able to gnaw asunder a lion's fetters, and we think that, properly tended, this new offspring of political wisdom may have as great a destiny before it. If the leaders of Indian opinion are wise, they will accept the lesson that has been read to them in the virtues of 'hastening slowly,' and will use their best endeavours to help the new experiment really to attain its end.

THERE is every reason why they should do so. The end towards which the new proposals are confessedly directed is progress in self-government. The final achievement of self-government is not yet a subject for sober politicians; but even in politics logic ultimately gets its way, and the logical end of progress is achievement. No sober patriot, therefore, can quarrel with the end which is expressly and solemnly put in the forefront of these proposals. It is only those who want not reform but revolution and a practically immediate autonomy that can plead any logical excuse for refusing to co-operate in trying to make the suggested experiment a success. To them we can say nothing

less than this, that the plight of India, if she had self-government resting upon a franchise practically confined to the university-educated classes, would *at the very best* be like the plight of Britain, if the franchise there were confined to the Liberal Party. Certainly there are very various shades of opinion among the Indians who fill the professions or are in Government service, but relatively to the total population of India they are a Liberal Party. Permanent government by a single party would be disastrous in Britain; it would be at least as disastrous in India. What the proposals before us are designed to accomplish is to train in the art of constitutional politics, and so to prepare for a share in a future Indian democracy, a constitutionarily Conservative party. It may be that an autonomous constitutional government framed on Western lines will never work in India, but such a government is, we take it, what the extremists imagine that they want. In any case it will never work until all classes and interests in India have learned to make themselves politically effective, and it is just this intermediate end which the present proposals seem calculated to bring a step nearer.

WE regret that two important mistakes crept into our last issue. On p. 70, eight lines from the top, the date 104—77 B. C ought to have been 137—104. Also, the statement on p. 91 that the late Dr. Beyschlag "certainly shows *us* traces of being influenced by Indian thought" ought to have read "shows *no* traces."

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

A Primer of Psychology. By Laura Brackenbury, M.A. (Dub.) (Newnham College, Cambridge), Lecturer at the Cambridge Training College. London: John Murray: 1907. Price 1*s*.

From a remark at the close of the Introduction it appears that this little book is specially intended for students of Theology and of Education. It may be confidently recommended, however, to all who, being unable to secure the help of a teacher, desire a real initiation into the study of Psychology; and even students attending a class in the subject may find it a suggestive auxiliary to the larger text-books. The Primer deals, in successive chapters, with Psychological Method; the General Analysis of Mind; Sensation; Perception; Imagination; Ideation; 'Activity or Attention'; 'Feeling or Affection'; the Emotions; and the Will. The authoress's lucidity of exposition and illustration betrays her experience of the teacher's art. At the end of each chapter references are given to the relevant passages in the writings of Ward, Stout, and James. A glossary enables the student, whenever he is in

doubt, to refresh his memory as to the special psychological meaning to be given to the principal terms employed; and an appendix provides, firstly, a set of questions upon each chapter of the Primer, whereby the reader may test his own comprehension of what has been said, and, secondly, a most excellent series of questions of a wider reference, calling for the application of general principles to concrete cases.

What is to ourselves the most novel feature in Miss Brackenbury's exposition of her subject is the general analysis which she offers of the ultimate modes of consciousness and for which she expresses her indebtedness to Mr. W. E. Johnson. The analysis has a convincing appearance of simplicity which is sure to appeal to the beginner. It purports to provide an *a priori* justification of the three-fold division of modes which is at present in fashion. There are, it is argued, three, and only three, possible relations between the subject in consciousness and the object in consciousness: (1) the case where neither does the subject affect or alter the object, nor does the object affect or alter the subject; (2) the case where the object affects or alters the subject, but not *vice versa*; (3) the case when the subject affects or alters the object, but not *vice versa*. These three cases are, *a priori*, the only possible relations—so it is suggested—between subject and object. But the first is obviously the cognitive attitude; the second is feeling and conation; the third, attention. Hence we get an *a priori* deduction of a three-fold division of ultimate modes of consciousness.

For ourselves we hold that any really useful division of conscious modes must be *a posteriori*, based upon the final results of psychological analysis, and our opinion is only strengthened by an examination of the argument just described. For certain obvious criticisms at once suggest themselves. On the one hand, if we keep entirely to the abstract and, without paying any attention to the peculiar nature of the subject-object relation, simply enquire in how many ways it is *a priori* possible for two terms to be related, it would seem that there ought to be a fourth case. The relation might be two-sided, the subject affecting or altering the object *and* the object affecting or altering the subject. On the other hand, if we pay attention to the concrete conditions required to make a subject-object relation actually possible, it is not *a priori* evident that any such relation could be maintained at all, if neither the object affected the subject nor the subject the object. Cognition is always dependent upon interest and is often the result of a very active effort to understand. It is only through the reaction of attention that a presentation can become an object. In the third place, even if a three-fold division on the basis suggested be admitted, it is too abstract to help us much in a concrete classification of the ultimate modes of consciousness. How are we to decide what actual modes of consciousness we are to bring under each of the three heads?

For example, why should conation be separated from attention and put under the second head, instead of being regarded as an active mode, with attention as one of its special forms? This may be right or it may be wrong, but the abstract principle of the suggested division does not help us to decide the point. Again, if there is any mode of consciousness exactly corresponding to the first head, it would seem to be 'simple apprehension' rather than cognition. We conclude, then, that Miss Brackenbury's appeal to the *a priori* in justification of the three-fold classification of mental modes which she adopts is more specious than convincing. However, the point is of no great importance to a beginner, and our criticism in no way diminishes our impression of the usefulness of this little Primer for its purpose.

Macmillan's Supplementary Readers. Price 6*d*. each.

We beg to acknowledge receipt of six books of this excellent series. They are printed in a comfortable type and profusely illustrated. Lewis Carroll's 'Alice's Adventures in Wonderland' and 'Through the Looking Glass' are reproduced with Tenniel's illustrations. Charles Kingsley's 'Water Babies' is provided with one hundred illustrations by Linley Sambourne. Mrs. Molesworth's 'Cuckoo Clock' and 'Carrots' contain illustrations by Walter Crane. 'Old Christmas' consists of selections from Washington Irving's 'Sketch Book,' and is interspersed with illustrations by R. Caldecott. To see these books in this attractive guise reawakens the delights of our childhood. But is it possible, we wonder, to naturalise Lewis Carroll in India?

Literary Notes.

The *Bookman* for July gives an interesting sketch of the life of Mr. William de Morgan, who has recently come into prominence as the author of 'Joseph Vance' and 'Alice for Short.' By these novels Mr. de Morgan has established a reputation in the world of fiction, and the remarkable thing is that he has done so at the age of sixty-seven. He was born in 1840 and he published his first novel in 1906. He made some attempts at writing when a boy, and at the age of twenty committed his youthful productions to the flames. For forty years after this he never put pen to paper, but devoted himself to art, and now at a comparatively advanced age he has turned from art to literature with exceptional success. Mr. William de Morgan is the son of Professor Augustus de Morgan, the predecessor of Dr. Karl Pearson in the Chair of Applied Mathematics at University College, London.

The Chief Librarian of the British Museum contributes to the September *Cornhill* an interesting article on the Reading Room of that

famous Institution. Speaking of novel reading in the Reading Room, he says :—" Once upon a time it is true the room was the resort of the novel reader. A comfortable room, a luxurious chair, a sufficient assurance of silence—nothing was wanting to his happiness . . . . careful statistics showed that a very creditable score was made by each of the offenders, though, of course, the number of novels devoured per man varied. The best man, or worst, won easily with thirty novels a week, or five per diem. A humorous, but effective edict was promulgated. The use of works of fiction less than five years old was forbidden; and the novel reader fled in disgust."

"CLAUDIUS CLEAR" in the *British Weekly*, writing of a new Anthology edited by Dr. William Knight says, " There are two kinds of anthologies; first, there are the comprehensive standard books which pay regard to the consensus of criticism, and include more or less all the poems which have stood the test, whether the editor approves of them or not. Of such anthologies the best I know is Mr. Humphrey Ward's, but it is contained in four volumes, and its price places it beyond the reach of many. It is admirably done, however, and the characterisations of the various poets by eminent critics are about the best that can easily be found. Mr. Quiller Couch's Oxford Anthology has great merits It includes most of the approved pieces, and the editor has not quite suppressed his individuality. Of the 'Golden Treasury' it is needless to speak, though the continuation is not to be compared with the original volume. In fact, the first edition is still the best. Of individual anthologies we have a few, notably 'A Book of Irish Verse', edited by Mr. W. B. Yeats." The new Anthology by Dr. Knight is a Victorian collection and it excludes verses from the great masters like Coleridge, Wordsworth, Keats, Shelley, Tennyson and Browning.

THE Oxford Clarendon Press announces a double section of the great Dictionary for the 1st October. This will bring the work up to the middle of the letter R.

A NEW curiosity of literature has been given to us in the publication of Storia do Mogor; or, Mogul India, 1653—1708, by Niccolao Manucci; translated by W. Irvine. Early in the eighteenth century, Père François Catrou published a history based upon this manuscript, but in doing so he used it with more than the usual freedom. The MS. then found its way into the Jesuit library at Paris, where it was catalogued. After fifty years in Paris it found its way to The Hague where it lay for sixty years. During the next sixty years it found a refuge in Sir Thomas Phillipps's library at Middle Hill, while, as stated by the

Athenæum reviewer from whom we gather our facts, various historians of India were deploring its loss. When Phillipps's collection was dispersed, the MS. found its way to the Royal Library at Berlin, where it still lies. Here it was found by Mr. Archibald Constable, and now through the exertions of Mr. Irvine and others it is being given to the world in an English translation. Manucci lived for sixty years in India, and was in close contact with the chief actors on the political stage. His work cannot, therefore, be without value to historians of the latter half of the seventeenth century.

SCIENCE NOTES.

SIR DAVID GILL, the distinguished astronomer at the Cape, presided over the meeting of the British Association this year. In his inaugural address he gave an account of the progress which had been made in problems to which he had devoted himself. The first he dealt with was the measurement of the Great African Arc on the 30th meridian, which, he said, it was the dream of his life to see completed. The gap in the arc between the Limpopo and the previously executed triangulation in Rhodesia, which Sir David reported to the Association at the Johannesburg meeting in 1905, has now been filled up, and Captain Lyons, who is at the head of the survey of Egypt, has begun the work of carrying the arc southwards from Alexandria. At the same time, the German Government is having estimates prepared with a view to carrying the survey along the eastern side of Lake Tanganyika. Thus, there is reason to hope that ere long the arc will extend from Cape L'Agulhas to Cairo, thence round the eastern shore of the Mediterranean and the islands of Greece, and there meet the triangulation of Greece itself, the latter being already connected with Struve's great arc, which terminates at the North Cape in lat. 70°N. This will constitute an arc of 105° in length—the longest arc of meridian that is measurable on the earth's surface.

ANOTHER problem in measurement in which much progress has been made is the determination of the great fundamental unit of astronomy —the solar parallax. Early in 1877 Sir David Gill predicted that we should not arrive at any certainty as to the true value of the solar parallax from observations of transits of Venus, but that the heliometer applied to the measurement of angular distances between stars and the star-like images of minor planets would yield results of far higher precision. The results of the observations of the minor planets Iris, Victoria and Sappho at their favourable oppositions in the years 1888 and

1889, which were made with the co-operation of the chief heliometer and meridian observatories, fully justified this prediction. The sun's distance is now almost certainly known within one-thousandth part of its amount. The more recently discovered planet Eros, which in 1900 approached the earth within one-third of the mean distance of the sun, afforded a most unexpected opportunity for re-determining the solar parallax. The results obtained are in almost exact accordance with those of 1888 and 1889. A still better opportunity will occur in 1931 when Eros will approach the earth within one-sixth part of the sun's mean distance. This ought to enable astronomers to determine the solar parallax within one ten-thousandth part of its amount. Sir David Gill urged that a congress of astronomers should assemble next year to arrange for the preliminary work, such as the examination of errors which attach to photographic processes, the construction of specially designed telescopes, and the charting of the stars near the path which Eros will describe during its opposition in 1931.

Sir David Gill then proceeded to discuss what had been done to determine with accuracy the position of the stars in the heavens. Dealing with the constellations of the southern hemisphere, he gave the following interesting account of the Southern Cross:—It seems probable that the first express reference to southern constellations in known literature occurs in the Book of Job (ix. 9):—"Which maketh Arcturus, Orion, and Pleiades, and the chambers of the south." Schiaparelli's strongly supported conjecture is that the expression "chambers of the south," taken with its context, signifies the brilliant stellar region from Canopus to *a* Centauri, which includes the Southern Cross and coincides with the most brilliant portion of the Milky Way.

About the year 750 B.C. (the probable date of the Book of Job) all these starts culminated at altitudes between 5° and 16° when viewed from the latitude of Judæa; but now, owing to processional change, they can only be seen in a like striking manner from a latitude about 12° further south.

The words of Dante have unquestionably originated the wonderful net of poetic fancy that has been woven about the asterism, which we now call Crux.

> To the right hand I turned, and fixed my mind,
> On the other pole attentive, where I saw
> Four stars ne'er seen before save by the ken
> Of our first parents—Heaven of their rays
> Seemed joyous. O thou northern site! bereft
> Indeed, and widowed, since of these deprived.

All the commentators agree that Dante here referred to the stars of the Southern Cross. Had Dante any imperfect knowledge of the exist-

ence of these stars, any tradition of their visibility from European latitudes in remote centuries, so that he might poetically term them the stars of our first parents?

Ptolemy catalogues them as 31, 32, 33, and 34 Centauri, and they are clearly marked on the Borgian globe described by Assemanus in 1790. This globe was constructed by an Arabian in Egypt; it bears the date 622 Hegira, corresponding with A.D. 1225, and it is possible that Dante may have seen it. Amerigo Vespucci, as he sailed in tropical seas, apparently recognised in what we now call Crux the four luminous stars of Dante; for in 1501 he claimed to be the first European to have looked upon the stars of our first parents. His fellow-voyager, Andrea Corsali, wrote about the same time to Giuliano di Medici describing "the marvellous cross, the most glorious of all the celestial signs." Thus much mysticism and romance have been woven about this constellation, with the result that exaggerated notions of its brilliancy have been formed, and to most persons its first appearance, when viewed in southern latitudes, is disappointing. To those, however, who view it at upper culmination for the first time from a latitude a little south of the Canary Islands, and who at the same time make unconsciously a mental allowance for the absorption of light to which one is accustomed in the less clear skies of Northern Europe, the sight of the upright cross, standing as if fixed to the horizon, is a most impressive one. I at least found it so on my first voyage to the Cape of Good Hope. But how much more strongly must it have appealed to the mystic and superstitious minds of the early navigators as they entered the unexplored seas of the northern tropic! To them it must have appeared the revered image of the Cross pointing the way on their southward course—a symbol and sign of Hope and Faith on their entry to the unknown.

THE most difficult problem in practical astronomy is probably the determination of the parallaxes of the stars. This has been taken up at the Cape Observatory and at Yale, and by using large and improved heliometers the errors of observation have been reduced within very small limits. Great diversity has been found in the absolute luminosity and velocity of motion of different stars. "Proper motion," said Sir David Gill, "rather than apparent brightness is the truer indication of a star's probable proximity to the sun. Every star of considerable proper motion yet examined has proved to have a measurable parallax. This fact at once suggests the idea, why should not the apparent parallactic motions of the stars, as produced by the sun's motion in space, be utilised as a means of determining stellar parallax? The strength of such determinations, unlike those made by the method of annual

parallax would grow with time. It is true that the process cannot be applied to the determination of the parallax of individual stars, because the peculiar motion of a particular star cannot be separated from that part of its apparent motion which is due to parallactic displacement. But what we specially want is not to ascertain the parallax of the individual star, but the mean parallax of a particular group or class of stars, and for this research the method is specially applicable, provided we may assume that the peculiar motions are distributed at random, so that they have no systematic tendency in any direction ; in other words, that the centre of gravity of any extensive group of stars will remain fixed in space. This assumption is, of course, but a working hypothesis, and one which from the paper on star-streaming communicated by Professor Kapteyn of Groningen to the Johannesburg meeting of the Association two years ago we already know to be inexact. Kapteyn's results were quite recently confirmed in a remarkable way by Eddington, using independent material, discussed by a new and elegant method. Both results showed that, at least for extensive parts of space, there are a nearly equal number of stars moving in exactly opposite directions. The assumption, then, that the mean of the peculiar motions is zero may, at least for these parts of space, be still regarded as a good working hypothesis."

THE death is intimated of Sir Willliam Perkin, the founder of the coal tar industry. Born in London in 1838, he entered the Royal College of Chemistry at fifteen years of age. During one vacation, while studying the synthesis of quinine, he found that the oxidation of aniline with potassium bichromate and sulphuric acid produced a dye, which from its resemblance to the flower of the mallow he named mauve. This dye he at once recognised to have commercial value and with the aid of his father and brother he established at the age of eighteen a factory at Harrow for its manufacture. There he proceeded to make other dyes, including alizarin which gives the colour of Turkey red. Continuing to devote himself to laboratory work, he soon discovered the method of synthesis of unsaturated aromatic acids which bears his name. He afterwards effected the synthesis of coumarin, the odorous principle of the Tonka bean, and was thus instrumental in setting on foot the artificial perfume industry. More recently he devoted himself to research on the magneto-optical properties of organic compounds.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THE August number of the *Contemporary Review* opens with an article on 'The Religious Education of Children', by Sir Oliver Lodge. On the question whether the teaching of religion to small children should be dog-

matic or not Sir Oliver Lodge says that while elaborate theories, of the nature of ecclesiastical doctrines, are not appropriate for children, dogma cannot be altogether excluded. Children, he says, want to know something of the nature of man, of the universe, and of God: they ask questions on these topics and about nature; and one part of religious teaching is to answer their enquiries. For, while careless and casual questioning should be discouraged, reverent curiosity should be fostered, and an attempt made to satisfy it as far as possible.

The ultimate object of religious training, Sir Oliver Lodge says, must be to encourage such ideas and habits as shall result in a happy childhood and a sound anduseful life. The life of the child must not be subordinated too much to the life of the adult, for, while it is indeed a period of preparation, it is a period of value in itself. It is a time of considerable subjective length, and it should be allowed due weight and prominence in the scheme of existence. At the same time a respect for grown-up people is a natural childish instinct which ought not lightly to be destroyed. "The first real gods of a child are his parents, however ungodlike they may be; and hence arises that feeling of security, and nearness of protection and law, which is one of the luxuries of childhood," and "one of the responsibilities of parenthood."

Sir Oliver Lodge discusses briefly the question, whether children should receive their religious instruction from their parents or from the State, and the bearing of environment on the question of religious development, urging that attention to, and instruction in, physical conditions is a part of true religious teaching. Christianity, he says, is quite as much concerned with the salvation of the body as with the salvation of the soul. Man must be treated as a whole, and any attempt to deal with him in fractions must result in partial failure.

But, leaving aside the question of a better general social organisation, Sir Oliver Lodge proceeds to consider how the average home or school can best be made a place of religious education. What should be taught to children? What sort of religion is suited to the minds of children? What will bring forth the best fruit? For, says Sir Oliver Lodge, it is by the fruit of a good and developed life that any system must ultimately be judged. Good and faithful service is the end and aim. It is not natural to the child, he says, to think that the world exists for his pleasure and profit: it is natural to him to wish to be of use. It should be the work of every ideal home as well of every school to seek to develop this instinct for service. But in addition to the practical teaching necessary for this purpose there must be some instruction, Sir Oliver Lodge thinks, in the elements of revealed or spiritual or theoretical religion. Whatever doctrines are imparted, however, religious theory for children should not, in his opinion, be based extensively on the doctrine of sin. Children are not wicked, he says, in the acceptation of the term used by revival preachers, and it is unfair to inflict on them theological doctrines concerning sin. From the evolutionary point of view healthy infancy under favourable conditions must be regarded as a period of innocency, and it may be a question, therefore, what need there is for theology at all. One answer, Sir Oliver Lodge thinks, is that the childish atmosphere is full of potential superstition and children need to be fortified against the fears and vague imaginings which are natural to undeveloped humanity. This leads to the consideration of the value of the Bible and the value of traditional rites and ceremonies, the outward symbols of various religious beliefs, in the spiritual education of children. In regard to the latter, Sir Oliver Lodge is of opinion that though it seems probable that the religious instinct, as it strengthens in men, may ultimately urge them to materialise or express their beliefs through the higher organisation of social life rather than through the machinery of ecclesiastical ritual, still certain church influences, such as the definite occasion for attention to spiritual things, the fellowship of spirit, and the association of certain simple human acts with high thoughts, give every religious sect a powerful opportunity for aiding the development

of a child's soul, if they can be rightly utilised. As regards the value of the Bible in the religious instruction of children, Sir Oliver Lodge has some very sensible remarks to make. In order to discover what sort of notions had been formed in their early days by children who were still young enough not to have entirely forgotten those days, he catechised a small class of such children, and he gives a summary of the results. It shows that, whatever other effect Scripture teaching had on the children, it had little or no moral significance for them and little or no influence on their lives. What had influenced them was chiefly the indirect and continuous influence of good homes.

In conclusion, Sir Oliver Lodge says that whatever men have of good hope and trust should be gradually imparted to their children, whether it appears specifically religious or not, so long as it appears definitely true. Much of this must be told as the result of the larger experience of those who teach it and must therefore be in a sense dogmatic. This is the sort of dogmatic teaching that is legitimate, and Sir Oliver Lodge is now engaged in drafting a simplified statement of the fundamentals of the Christian faith in a form suited for children. He hopes this statement may be found a useful auxiliary to the catechism which he published last year.

'The Divine Man' is the title of an article by Emma Marie Caillard on the question of a Divine Incarnation in humanity. The idea of a Divine Incarnation in humanity at large is not alien, she says, to the thought of the day. People seem to think that that may be accomplished in all men which in one man is impossible. They forget, the writer thinks, that the whole human race is limited and circumscribed just as much as any individual in it. This is not the way, she says, in which the subject of an Incarnation can be usefully approached at all. All religions, implying as they do a relation of the Divine to the human, postulate the Will of the Divine to make Itself known to finite intelligence. From this starting point the writer proceeds to the question whether Incarnation in an individual would be a hindrance or an aid to such revelations of God as mankind, with its defined mental and spiritual disposition, is capable of receiving. She takes for granted that Incarnation in humanity does not preclude revelation in nature but rather presupposes it, and that Incarnation in an individual does not preclude Incarnation in the race but implies it; and she further takes for granted the presence of individualness in the universe at large. This being so, she says, the conception of Incarnation in an individual takes on a different aspect, and instead of being a stumbling-block and an offence would rather seem to be a necessary condition of a divine revelation in and through humanity, if that is to be as complete as to human beings is possible. In the light of this she considers the claim made for Christ in the New Testament, and she concludes that the religious experience of modern Christians is leading them to the acknowledgment that Christ is Divine in a unique sense, whether or not it is possible to say how. She points out, however, that while the thought that Christ is uniquely divine is to herself, and probably to others, strongly illuminating, it is partial and restricted.

"Even apart from defective presentation it is but a small portion of a vast subject, constraining the acknowledgment that neither in all men nor in one man, though He be the Divine Man Himself, can the whole God be revealed. That which is revealed of Him is that which humanity individual and collective can progressively perceive, but no more, and beyond lies an infinite region unthinkable to such as we are. Wherever in the universe of God there are beings capable of apprehending a revelation of Him, there we may reverently suppose it is given in the form suitable to their intelligence and degree of spiritual development, which may be greater or less than our own."

Under the title of 'The Problem of the Old Testament Restated' Professor Orr contributes a reply to Professor Peake's article on 'The Problem of the Old Testament' which was published in the April number of the *Contemporary Review*. Professor Peake's article was in the main an examination from the critical side of Professor Orr's book on the Old

Testament, and Professor Orr thinks it renders some restatement on his part necessary. While thanking Professor Peake for his unfailing courtesy, Professor Orr protests against some of his judgments. He also maintains that Professor Peake has not been guiltless of the charge made against himself of "grave deficiency in the matter of presenting evidence on the other side." But he is chiefly concerned with Professor Peake's vindication of the critical theory itself. The 'Problem of the Old Testament,' he says, restates itself into the conflict between the view, roughly called the Biblical view, marked superficially by the succession, Law, Psalms, Prophets, though in reality going much deeper, in the idea of a true supernatural revelation of God, with a history to correspond, and the critical view inverting this order into Prophets, Law, Psalms, and fitting everything into the scheme of a natural, progressive development. Professor Orr holds by the Biblical view, and he thinks the critical view rests on essentially false presuppositions. In the present article he deals with some of the arguments relied on by Professor Peake and other upholders of the critical view. We do not profess to be able to follow him in all that he says; but we are at one with him in thinking that the issue between the upholders of the two views is a most momentous one. We are not so sure, however, that Professor Peake's sense of the gravity of the situation created by the newer criticism is so inadequate as Professor Orr would have us believe. We shall look forward with interest to Professor Peake's reply.

Professor Sayce contributes an interesting article on 'Social Life in Asia Minor in the Abrahamic Age.' The information on which his article is based has been obtained from cuneiform tablets found near Kaisariyeh in Cappadocia. They were discovered in a mound, composed of blackened soil and broken brickwork, the remains of a city which had been a great centre of trade, and from which the metals dug from the mines of Cappadocia had been exported to Assyria and Babylonia. The forms of the cuneiform characters used in the tablets are those of the Babylonia of Khammurabi, not those which were afterwards current in Assyria, and the fact that those forms should have been used by Assyrian colonists is explained by the fact that at the time Assyria was a vassal province of Babylonia. The tablets include commercial and legal documents as well as letters, and they bear witness to the early age at which contact between Babylonia and Asia Minor began. They throw much interesting light on the manners and customs of the people who lived in Cappadocia four thousand years ago.

Mr. J. A. Spender deals with the present political situation in England and the difficulties that confront the Government. The issue raised by the question of the House of Lords is whether in the last resort the representative or the unrepresentative principle shall prevail, and Mr. Spender is of opinion that the Government scheme, or something like it, is the only possible scheme for securing that the representative principle shall prevail. He discusses the change in the situation caused by the rise of the Labour Party, and urges upon the Liberal Party the duty of maintaining its hold on the middle classes. He thinks there need be no discouragement about keeping a large part of the middle class in line with the working class in the Liberal movement. The more sagacious of the Labour leaders, he says, cannot cherish the illusion that it is possible for any Progressive movement to prosper if the Labour Party deliberately cuts itself off from middle class support.

'Gods and Saints in Ancient Ireland' is the title of an interesting article by Mr. T. W. Rolleston on ancient Irish literature. A volume entitled *Heroic Romances of Ireland* has been published recently, and Mr. Rolleston deals at some length with two of the tales contained in that volume, for the purpose of illustrating characteristic features of Irish literature and of forming an estimate of its religious and ethical content. He is of opinion that a strong Celtic impulse went to the formation of the sentiment of mediæval chivalry, which has commonly been supposed to have been the fine flower of Christian

feeling adapted to the circumstances of a warlike aristocracy.

Miss Edith Sellers contributes an interesting article on 'Poor Relief in the Balkans.' The systems of administration vary very much in the different states. In Montenegro, where the people generally are very poor, there are no paupers in the modern meaning of the term and no persons who as a matter of taste would rather accept poor relief than work for their daily bread. In Bucharest very little is done for the poor by the local authorities: institutions for the poor and the sick have been built and are still maintained from funds provided by private individuals.

Dr. Dillon deals with The Hague Conference, which he labels 'The International Parliament of Good Intentions,' the conflict of the white and yellow races, steerable balloons and air warfare, the Franco-Russian Alliance, Belgium and Germany, the abdication of the Emperor of Korea, the trial of General Stoessel, and the present position of affairs in Russia.

Mr. Laurence Jerrold writes on the recent political upheaval in the south of France; Mrs. Emily Crawford discusses 'Mediæval and Renaissance Portraiture' *apropos* of an exhibition of portraits at the National Library, Paris; Mr. Jesse Quail replies to Mr. Chiozza Money's criticism of his article on 'The Investments of the Masses'; and the usual reviews of books complete the number.

In the *Nineteenth Century* Sir Robert Giffen calls attention to the disturbance which would be caused to commerce by even a successful naval war. The Civil War in America nearly crippled the cotton trade; and for the supply of raw cotton England is more dependent than ever on the United States. War with that country or a Continental Power would diminish London's Clearing House business, and the drain of gold would probably produce a banking panic. It would be well to arrange for a suspension of gold payments and for a general delay in the time when debts fall due. Raids, strategically of no importance, might be very disturbing to commerce. Our military forces should be strong enough to prevent invasion and to threaten raids. "It will be cheaper to spend say £40,000,000 a year more on increasing the numbers and efficiency of our Navy and Army, than have to spend in hot haste in one fatal year more than ten times the money, besides suffering the loss of capital by stoppage of trade and depreciation of property and securities to the extent not improbably of one or two thousand millions sterling, which would easily be our bill of losses in a great naval war."

Lord Eversley explains that we need not fear Germany's naval programme. He considers that there is no basis for the view expressed in the July *Fortnightly* that Germany is likely to seize on Holland. Rotterdam is not fitted to be a naval base; and Antwerp is in Belgium, whose independence is guaranteed by Europe. Mr. Barker likewise is mistaken in the views put forward in this Review in July. Denmark would remain neutral and Germany could not afford to seize it, as that would bring about a rupture with Russia. Kiel cannot be destroyed by bombardment from the sea. Our naval force is, properly reckoned, double that of France and Germany combined. By the German programme eighteen Dreadnoughts are to be completed in fourteen years; but that programme is already about two years behind. The true policy for Britain is to hold back as long as possible, taking advantage of its speed in building ships to improve its designs. Lord Eversley closes with a high tribute to Sir John Fisher.

The Earl of Erroll writes on the 'Recent Crisis in India.' The gravity of the situation was not at first realised, but when the British Government understood the urgency of the case, they acted with promptitude, and in a few days Lahore and Rawal Pindi were perfectly quiet. Stern repression of sedition in the native press must be maintained, for the issues are too important for concessions to be made to sentiment. British rule, it must be remembered, is a foreign rule and is sure to be resented, even if just and humane. Education without moral training has a tendency to undermine respect for authority; this is the case in England,

of ideals, enthusiasm, and thinking power among the aristocratic leaders of the country. Emotional unrest, influences of quackery, the bankruptcy of institutions not perpetually maintained by the State, are indicated as symptoms as sinister as those that presaged the French Revolution. Detachment from the life, especially the intellectual life, of Europe is, perhaps, the most sinister of all. Unless the country can learn (and that speedily) the true basis of advance, as it has been achieved on the continent, nothing can save it from disaster.

In 'The State of India,' a civilian (G. W. Forrest) criticizes, in a temperate and thoughtful fashion, the failure of the Government to realise the true significance and the true requirements of the problems recently raised in Northern India, and advocates further attempts to enlist the wisdom of the leaders of Indian life in the interests of progress. Not only as advisers, but often as models, the feudatory chiefs might often guide the Government. Arbitrary interference, ill-considered enactments, are to be avoided, and 'Rest' accorded to the land that is weary of disturbance and unrest.

'Mars: is it a habitable World?' Probably every one not wholly ignorant of modern astronomy has wondered what is the answer to this question. This article outlines the course of scientific discovery in regard to Mars, the ground for the principal inferences, and the dubiousness of many of the conclusions hazarded. Summing up, it suggests that Mars is not a planet warm and fertile as our own, but (like our own country) cold with senile decay.

'The New Geneva Convention' is discussed by Prof. Holland, one of the British Plenipotentiaries. The article deals with the origin of the first convention, and its subsequent developments; but it is rather technical and frigid. The results of these conventions in the amelioration of war are matters of profound thankfulness; but their history is unexciting. 'Our Position of Naval Peril' is a drastic analysis, by 'Excubitor,' of the measure of justification for the recent scares of naval unpreparedness indulged in by some of the English papers. After detailing the forces of the Home Fleet, lately reviewed by H. M. the King, and the economies in men and ships recently effected by the Admiralty, he proceeds to compare with the battle-fleets of Germany and France, the two strongest navies in Europe, the forces of our Channel, Atlantic, and Mediterranean fleets, no one of which was in any way affected or disturbed on account of the Spithead review. Point for point, in ships and men, the advantage lies with Britain. Further, in armament our ships are much superior, and our standard of gunnery is high. Our present position is one of comfortable security. 'The Art of Immortality' is a dialogue by Mrs. Stobart, in which religion, as the interpretation in consciousness of a sub-conscious perception of immortality, is examined from the analogies of the artistic interpretations of other sub-conscious perceptions. But the moral of it is, the light was in the world, but the world knew it not. 'Robert Burns and Charles Dickens' are brought together for comparison and contrast, as exponents of that art which can unfailingly "draw" the public, and apostles of a wide brotherhood of affection and goodwill.

'The Youngest Pretender' gives a sympathetic account of Cardinal York, the Stuart Prince whose life and character are usually obscured by the more sensational, though not more admirable, careers of his father and brother, the Old and Young Pretenders. 'Society, according to Maria Edgeworth,' passes in review her principal novels, partly to show her gifts, partly to illustrate the essential sameness of 'Society,' its morals, its problems, its limitations, a hundred years ago and to-day, in spite of superficial variations. Types and episodes are examined, in many cases modern parallels are suggested; it may be that this sameness is largely responsible for her waning popularity. Prof. Boas tells the story, and condenses the substance, of a 'Defence of Oxford Plays and Players,' the work of William Gager, an Oxford scholar and dramatist in the latter half of the Sixteenth Century. Interesting rather for its historical and literary bearing than as a contribution to the ultimate claims of the drama and the stage, the tract is a model of contro-

versial sobriety and moderation. Sir Harry Johnston, an acknowledged authority in things African, writes on 'The Disposal of Africa.' He insists that the native rights to the soil must be regarded; treating them as negligible has brought disaster to the Germans, and to the King of the Belgians. The negro is unquestionably backward in comparison with the Asiatic and the European; but he has the advantage of the European in respect of climatic conditions as far as tropical Africa is concerned. The solution here advocated is that tropical Africa should be definitely and explicitly treated as the black man's land, while the white man is assured unquestioned supremacy in the northern and southern extremities of the continent.

The *Chronique* on Foreign Affairs discusses the issues raised by The Hague Conference, especially those that concern naval warfare. The British case in regard to private shipping is reviewed and enforced, and the anomalies of the voting in that Conference are incidentally held up to ridicule. The next topic discussed is the alarming crisis (happily terminated for the nonce) between Japan and the United States over the events at San Francisco. This is an Imperial, as well as in international question, and calls for serious consideration. The alleged attitude of Germany, which would make almost any sacrifice to purchase the alliance of the United States, is also matter for thought. German 'intrigues,' the situation in Morocco, the triumph of Prince Bülow in German home politics, and Sir Edward Grey's deliverance on the Macedonian *imbroglio* are also the subject of comment. 'The Stooping Lady' is continued.

COLLEGE NOTES.

The friends of Dr. Miller will be glad to know that the latest news of him justifies the belief that there has been some improvement in his general health since he went to Scotland. While there is no hope that his eyesight will be completely restored to him, the progress of the disease has been arrested, and Dr. Miller seems now to be able to make more effective use of the measure of sight left to him. It has been finally decided that for the present he will remain in Scotland.

We have much pleasure in publishing the following letter from Dr. Miller. In our 'Notes of the Month' will be found an explanation of the circumstances which have called forth the letter and of the "communication" to which Dr. Miller refers.

Burgo Park,
Bridge of Allan,
Scotland.

August 28*th*, 1907.

To Former Students of the Madras Christian College.

My Dear Friends,

I ask you as a personal favour to give some earnest thought to a communication which will accompany this. It is an appeal to you to do something for the College which has done much for you. The

appeal itself will tell you in detail what it is that the College at present stands in need of. In a general way, no doubt, you all know already that recent developments in University education render it absolutely necessary that the College should be provided with extensive additional buildings, apparatus, and the like.

Those who are older among you will remember how valuable was the help contributed by former students more than twenty years ago when the last important extension of our buildings became necessary. I venture to hope that still greater help will be given by you to meet the present need. Many, no doubt, have passed away from us who were foremost in giving aid on the occasion to which I have referred. On the other hand, many who were then too young to help have risen into positions which should enable them worthily to manifest the interest in their *Alma Mater* which I trust they feel. Moreover, the whole roll of our former students must now be many times more lengthy than it was a quarter of a century ago. I cannot but think that very many of you will need but little pleading to induce you to take part in a work which you ought to know and which, I believe, most of you do know to be of very great importance for the welfare of your country and your people in the generations that are to come.

There may be some among you—I trust not very many—who, when they look back to their College days remember the College as little more than a place which enabled them to pass examinations and thereby to secure some measure of worldly prosperity. I am confident, however, that many of you—and I would fain believe that this class is larger than the one I have just described—look back upon the College as a place where you were under influences which have done something higher for you than merely to help you to attain ease, wealth or position in this quickly passing life. I hope, indeed, that there are many of you who remember the College as a place where aspirations were kindled and character was formed in such a way that you have been enabled to spread some real and lasting benefit around you in bygone years, and fitted to do still more useful work in coming years for the good of this world before you leave it.

I believe that many of you know something of the condition of blindness and weakness to which I have been reduced in recent months. You will recognize how unable I am to represent this matter on which I am addressing you in anything approaching the manner in which it ought to be presented. All that I can do is to ask you to consider it carefully and to give its proper weight to all that may be said by the present authorities of the College in their accompanying communication.

For those of you who have any kindly remembrance of myself I

shall add only this consideration :—that if I hear that you have earnestly taken up this matter and done in regard to it what I think you ought to do, it will be a comfort and some joy to me in my darkness and desolation.

With all the wishes for you which some of you know that I sincerely feel,

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM MILLER.

The Bursar desires that it should be known that he will be glad to receive subscriptions for the new buildings, both from former students and from other friends of the College, at any time. Subscriptions received before the appeal is issued will be appended to it.

WE have been furnished with a further list of subscriptions to the College Day Fund received from August 21st to September 20th.

			Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Mr. M. Viswanatha Aiyar, Retired Sub-Judge	...	50	0	0
2.	„ K. Anantarama Aiyar, Tanjore ...	...	25	0	0
3.	Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar, in part,		25	0	0
4.	Mr. K. Balarama Aiyar, Madras ...	...	25	0	0
5.	Rao Saheb T. Raghaviah, Tanjore ...	...	20	0	0
6.	Mr. C. Matthai, Ernakulam ...	...	10	0	0
7.	„ C. Nagaraja Rau, Mylapore ...	...	10	0	0
8.	„ J. P. Cotelingam, Bellary ...	...	10	0	0
9.	Sums under rupees ten	...	78	0	0
	Total	...	253	0	0
	Amount already acknowledged	...	1,209	0	0
	Total	...	1,462	0	0

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